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THE

ASHTĀDHYĀYĪ OF PĀṆINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH



27182

BY

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Vakil, High Court, N.-W. P.

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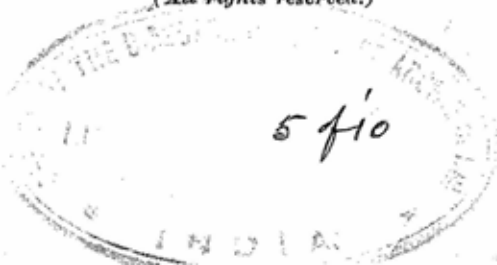
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THIS WORK

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IN

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THE TRANSLATOR.





the doubt, whether the pratyâhâras अच् and इच् when they are employed in Pāṇini's Grammar are formed with the च् of the former or with the ञ् of the latter sūtra, and one might, on that account, consider it impossible to ascertain what Pāṇini intended to denote by अच् and इच् when he employed these terms. To remove this doubt there is the following paribhāṣhâ :—

“The precise meaning of an ambiguous term is ascertained from interpretation, for a rule, even though it contain an ambiguous term, must never-the less teach something definite.”

Accordingly we learn from interpretation that the term अच् except in Sutra I. 1. 69, is formed by means of the च् of the first sūtra and that the term इच् is formed by means of the ञ् of the subsequent sūtra.

—:0:—

THE ASHTADHYAYI OF PANINI.

ओ३म् परमात्मने नमः

Salutation to the Supreme Spirit.

अथ शब्दानुशासनम् ॥

Now an explanation of words.

The term अथ "now" in the sūtra indicates a commencement, and points out that a dissertation is to be offered on the science of words, viz. Grammar and Philology. The term अनुशासन means explanation of any system. This is an अधिकार sūtra, and introduces the subject.

An aphorism or sūtra is of six kinds, संज्ञा or 'a definition,' परिभाषा or the 'key to interpretation,' विधि or 'the statement of a general rule,' नियम or 'a restrictive rule,' अधिकार or 'a head or governing rule, which exerts a directing or governing influence over other rules,' and अतिदेश or 'extended application by analogy.'

The Pratyāhāra Sūtras.

अइउण् । ऋलृक् । एओङ् । ऐऔच् । हयवरट् । लण् । जमङणनम् ।

ऋभञ् । घढधष् । जमगङदश् । खफलठथचटतष् । कपय् । शषसर् । हल् ॥

The above fourteen aphorisms contain the arrangement of Sanskrit alphabets for grammatical purposes. The anusvāra and the visarga, the jihvā-mulīya and the upadh māniya are not contained in the above list. The final अ in the consonants ह, य &c., is merely for the sake of articulation. The final pure consonants in the several aphorisms as ण्, क्, ह् &c., are non-efficient or इत्. The प्रत्याहार is a grammatical symbol or abbreviation and formed by taking any letter which is not a non-efficient letter and joining it with any non-efficient letter that follows it. This gives a name which stands for the former non-efficient letter and for all the other letters intervening between it and the non-efficient letter. Thus अच् means all the vowels, हल् means all the consonants, जश् means all soft unaspirate consonants, चर् means all hard unaspirate consonants. Though numerous pratyāhāras could be formed, practically however, there are only 42 pratyāhāras ; as given below :—

एङ् । यञ् । अण् । छ्व् । अह् । झप् । भप् ॥ अक् । इक् । उक् ॥ अण् । इण् । यण् । अण् । ङण् । अच् । इच् । एच् ॥ ऐच् । यय् । मय् । ऋय् । खय् ॥ यर् । झर् । खर् । चर् । शर् ॥ अश् । हश् । वश् । झश् । जश् । बश् ॥ अल् । हल् । वल् । रल् । झल् । शल् ॥

The same letter ण् is made use of as अनुबन्ध or an indicatory letter both in the sixth sūtra लण् and in the first अइउण्. There arises consequently

necessary, and in short, making the work a help to the student, desirous of studying the Kâsikâ in the original.

The *Ashṭādhyāyī*, as indicated by its name, is divided into *ashta dhyaṃyas*, i. e., eight Books. Each of these Books again is divided into four *adhyāyas* or chapters. It has thus been found suitable to publish the work in 32 parts without causing any inconvenience to the reader. The complete work will cover about 2,000 pages Royal Octavo. The task of translating, printing and publishing such an enormous work will entail great labour and expense. We are, therefore, forced to appeal to the generous public for their patronage, that this undertaking may be brought to a successful termination.

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Our hearty thanks are due to the Honourable E. White, C. s., Director of Public Instruction, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for his kindly subscribing for 100 copies of our work, and to all those gentlemen who have hitherto subscribed any number of copies or in any way encouraged us in our undertaking.

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PREFACE.

SINCE the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that has followed in its train, and especially since the foundations of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society, India has witnessed a glorious revival of her ancient literature, in which is embodied some of the highest philosophies and religions of the world. Our schools and colleges are annually turning out hundreds, nay thousands of scholars, who have entered upon the study of Sanskrit literature, and have thus learnt to appreciate the beauties of the language. Many Europeans too are taking pains to have some knowledge of the immortal literature of this ancient language. Very few of them, however, have the opportunity of studying the language with that depth and fulness with which it was and is mastered by the Pandits of the old school. To properly understand Sanskrit language, and especially that portion of it in which are locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts, *viz.*, Vedas, the Brāhmanas, the Upanishads &c, it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pāṇini.

Further, as a master-piece of close reasoning and artistic arrangement it ought to be an object of study with every one who wants to cultivate intellectual powers. In fact, what the Geometry of Euclid has done towards the logical development of the western intellect, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini has fulfilled the same purpose in India. No one who has studied this book can refrain from praising it. It has evoked admiration even from the Sanskrit savants of the west. Professor Max Müller thus gives his opinion about the merits of this excellent Sanskrit Grammar:—"The Grammatical system elaborated by native Grammarians, is in itself most perfect, and those who have tested Pāṇini's work will readily admit, that there is no Grammar in any language, that could vie with the wonderful mechanism of his eight books of Grammatical rules."

Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and for that vast majority of English-reading gentlemen, whose number is daily on the increase, and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books, on English translation of Sanskrit authors, no translation of this important work exists in English. To supply this want, we have undertaken to translate Pāṇini's aphorisms, as explained in the well-known commentary called the *Kāśikā*. Though it is not a close translation of the whole of *Kāśikā*, it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of the book. We have closely followed this commentary, explaining it where

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पाणिनीयव्याकरणसूत्रवृत्तिः॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER FIRST.

वृद्धिरादैच् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, आत्-ऐच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिशब्दः संज्ञात्वेन विधीयते प्रत्येकमादैचां वर्णानां सामान्येन तद्भावितानामतद्भावितानाञ्च ॥

1. आ, ऐ and औ are called vṛiddhi.

This defines the word vṛiddhi. The letters आ, ऐ and औ are vṛiddhi letters. The sūtra consists of three words vṛiddhi, ât and aich. आत् means the letter आ, the final त् being indicatory only, and is for the sake of the pratyâhâra aich, and the pratyâhâra ऐच् means the letters ऐ 'and औ .

The indicatory त् in आत् serves the purpose of showing that the very form आ having two mâtṛâs or prosodial measure, is to be taken. This त् also joins with the succeeding vowels ऐ and औ by the rule of तपर (I. 1. 70) or that "which precedes or succeeds त्," and indicates that these vowels must be taken as having two mâtṛâs only, though they may be the result of the combination of vowels whose aggregate mâtṛâs may be more than two. A short vowel has one mâtṛâ, a long vowel has two, and a consonant has half a mâtṛâ. Thus by a rule of सन्धि or euphonic conjunction of letters आ+आ=आ, as महा+आशयः=माशयः. Here हा has two mâtṛâs and not four. So also in खट्वैडकः the vowel वै is the resultant of आ+ऐ has only two, not four, mâtṛâs.

Thus the initial vowels in the following secondary derivative nouns are in vṛiddhi forms of their primitive vowels. आङ्गः "bodily", from अङ्गः; 'body' इच्छकः "optional", from इच्छा "option"; औपगवः "the son of Upagu", from the word उपगुः meaning "a sage called Upagu." Similarly in शाल्मीयः "belonging to the house" the आ is radical, and is also called vṛiddhi. The word vṛiddhi occurs in sūtras like सिचिवृद्धिपरस्मैपदेषु (VII. 2. 1.) "Let the final इक् of the verb get vṛiddhi substitute before the affix सिच् of the Parasmaipada".

अदेङ् गुणः ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्-एङ्, गुणः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणशब्दः संज्ञात्वेन विधीयते प्रत्येकमदेङां वर्णानां सामान्येन तद्भावितानामतद्भावितानाञ्च ॥

2. अ, ए and औ are called guṇa.

Each one of the letters अ, ए and औ whether radical or secondary is called a guṇa letter; as the initial vowels in the following:—अत्ति, "he

moves"; एति "he comes", आस्वति "he goes." Here the initial vowels of the roots अ, इ, and उक् have been respectively gunated into अर्, ए, and ओ before the third 'person', singular termination ति.

The term Guna occurs in sūtras like मिर्गुणः (VII. 3. 82). "Let there be guṇa substitute for the ik of the root मिर् "to melt."

इको गुणवृद्धी ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि॥ इकः । गुण-वृद्धी, (वृद्धिः, गुणः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धिगुणौ स्वसंज्ञया (वृद्ध्या गुणेन वा) शिष्यमाणाविक एव स्थाने वेदितव्यौ ॥

3. In the absence of any special rule, whenever guṇa or vṛiddhi is enjoined about any expression by using the terms guṇa or vṛiddhi, it is to be understood to come in the room of the ik vowels only (i, u, ri, and li long and short,) of that expression.

This is a paribhāṣhā sūtra, and is useful in determining the original letters, in the place of which the substitute guṇa and vṛiddhi letters will come. The present rule will apply where there is the specification of no other particular rule.

Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 declares:—"when a sârvadhâtuka or an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows there is guṇa of the base." Here the sthâni or the original expression which is to be gunated, is not specified, and to complete the sense, the word "ikah" must be read into the sūtra. The rule then being, "when a S. or an A. affix follows there is guṇa of the ik vowels of the base." The guṇa of इ or ई is ए; of उ or ऊ, is ओ, of अ or ऋ is अर्, of लृ is अल्; and their Vṛiddhi is ऐ, औ, आर् and आल् respectively. Thus नी+अति=ने+अति=नयति "he leads."

Therefore, wherever in any rule in this Grammar, guṇa or vṛiddhi is ordained by employing the terms guṇa or vṛiddhi, there the word "ikah" in the genitive case, meaning "in the place of ik", is to be supplied to complete the sense.

The word 'ik' is thus understood in the following rules, and is there qualified by the term अङ्ग or 'base':—मिर्गुणः (VII. 3. 82) वृजेवृद्धिः (VII. 2. 114) पुगन्तलघूपध &c., (VII. 3. 86); ऋच्छत्यृताम् (VII. 4. 11) ऋदृशोऽङ्गिगुणः (VII. 4. 16) स्थूलदूरयुव &c., (VI. 4. 156).

In the following sūtras, the term 'ik' is understood and qualifies the word ânga or base, जुप्ति च (VII. 3, 83), सार्वधातुकार्धधातुकयोः (VII. 3, 84).

These sūtras will be explained in their proper places.

The word 'ik' has been used in the sūtra to show that the long आ, ए, or the diphthongs and इल् or the consonants, are not to take guṇa or vṛiddhi by this

rule, as in the following examples यानम् "a carriage", ग्लायति "he feels aversion," उम्भिता "confined."

Here ग्लायति is formed by adding the affix तिप्, third person singular termination, with the class a affix शप्, to the root ग्लै; as ग्लै + शप् + तिप् = ग्लै + अ + ति. At this stage, rule VII. 3. 84, would require the guṇa substitution of the vowel of the base before the sârvadhâtuka termination अ; the guṇa substitute of ऐ being ए, there would be ग्लै + अति = ग्लयति. But this is wrong, the letter ऐ, being not included in the pratyâhâra ik, is not affected by rule VII. 3. 84, and there is no guṇa substitution in this case. Similarly there is no change in the long आ of यानम्. Thus या + ल्युट् (III. 3. 115) = यानम् (VII. 1. 1). Here had there been guṇa by Rule VII. 3. 84, the आ of या, would have been changed into अ, and the form would have been यनम् which is wrong. But it is not so, as आ is not an इक् vowel. So also उम्भ् + इता = उम्भिता. Here, there is no guṇa substitution in the place of the consonant भ्.

The repetition of the words guṇa and vṛiddhi in this sūtra, (though by अनुवृत्ति or the supplying of a word from the previous sūtra, these words followed from the two preceding sutras) is for the purpose of indicating that, this is a restrictive rule applicable only there, where guṇa or vṛiddhi has been ordained by the employment of the words guṇa or vṛiddhi. Therefore, it is not so in the following cases:—द्यौः "sky", पन्थाः "way" सः "he," इमम् "this." द्यौः is the nominative singular of the base दिव्. It is formed by rule VII. 1. 84, which declares that "in the nominative singular the letter द्यौ takes the place of दिव्." Here the letter द्यौ is no doubt a vṛiddhi letter, but as this substitution is not enjoined by the enunciation of the term vṛiddhi, द्यौ does not take the place of the vowel इ of दिव्, but it replaces the final व्. Thus दि + द्यौ + स् = द्यौः.

Similarly rule VII. 1. 85, declares that of the word पयिन्, आ is the substitute. The आ is a vṛiddhi letter no doubt, but not being enunciated by the term vṛiddhi, it takes the place of न् of पयिन् and not of इ. Thus we have पन्थाः, the न being added by VII. 1. 87.

Similarly सः from तद्, which is formed by VII. 2. 102 "short अ is the substitute of tyad, &c.," Here अ takes the place of इ. Thus we have त, which is changed again into स by VII. 2. 106.

न धातुलोप आर्द्धधातुके ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न , धातु-लोपे ;
आर्द्धधातुके, (गुणवृद्धी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वेकदेशो धातुस्तस्य लोपो यस्मिन् आर्द्धधातुके तस्य आर्द्धधातुके धातुलोपं तत्र ये गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुवन्ते न भवतः ॥

4. The Guna and vṛiddhi substitutions, which otherwise would have presented themselves, do not

take place, when such an ârdhadhâtuka (III. 4. 114) affix follows, which causes a portion of the root to be elided.

This is an exception to sūtra 3. By that sūtra iks were to be gunated or vriddhied and by sūtra VII. 3. 84, the root is to be gunated before all ârdhadhâtuka terminations. All primary affixes, that are applied directly to roots in Sanskrit, are divided into two broad classes, called sârvadhâtuka and ârdhadhâtuka. The affixes marked with an indicatory श (called शिङ्), and the conjugational affixes, such as तिप्, तः &c., (called तिङ्) are sârvadhâtuka; all other affixes are called ârdhadhâtuka.

Though by the general rule, VII. 3. 84, the root is to be gunated before ârdhadhâtuka terminations, yet it is not to be so, before those affixes which cause the लोप 'lopping off or ellipses' of a portion or a member of the original dhātu. Thus the termination ह्यमि is a first person singular termination of the future tense (जूह्) and is an ârdhadhâtuka termination; when this is added to root जि 'to excel' the इ of जि becomes gunated and we have जेष्यामि "I shall or will excel." But in those cases where there is a lopa of the member of a root form, caused by an affix, there is no gunation. Thus in लोलुवः "a great cutter," the original root is लू "to cut" which forms the Intensive verb लोलूय. In forming the noun of agency from the verb लोलूय, an ârdhadhâtuka suffix अच् III. 1. 134, is added. Thus लोलूय + अच्. At this stage, by force of sūtra II. 4. 74. which declares that "before the affix अच् (III. 1. 134) the य of the Intensive verb must be suppressed," the ya is dropped and we have लोलू + अच्. Here by the general rule VII. 3. 84, the final ऊ would have been gunated. But by virtue of the present sūtra, no guṇa takes place, because here on account of the ârdhadhâtuka affix अच्, a portion of the root, namely, य, has been elided; therefore no guṇa takes place. Thus we have लोलुवः "a great cutter."

The word धातु "root" has been used in the sūtra, in order to indicate that the exception does not apply where there is an elision of an anubandha or of an affix. As in लूञ् + इता = लो + इता = लविता. Here the indicatory letter ञ् has been elided, but that does not prevent gunation. Similarly in रेङ् the affix विच् is added to the root रिष् "to injure." Thus रिष् + विच् (III. 2. 75.) = रिष् + व् (I. 3. 2. and 3.) = रिष् + ० (VI. 1. 67.) Here the affix व् is elided, but nevertheless, the guṇa substitute must take place in रिष्. Thus we have रिष् + ० = रेष् (VII. 3. 86 and I. 1. 62) = रेङ् (VIII. 2. 39).

The word ârdhadhâtuka has been used to indicate that a sârvadhâtuka affix which causes the elision of a portion of a root, does not prevent guṇa or vriddhi as in रोहवीति, (Rig Veda IV. 58.3) "he roars much." रु + यङ् = रोहय (III. 1. 22). रोहय + तिप् = रोह + ति (II. 4. 74.). Here the sârvadhâtuka

affix तिप् causes the elision of य, a portion of the root. The guṇa substitution however takes place, and we have रोरो + ई + ति (VII. 3. 94) = रोरवीति, the augment ईद् being added by sūtra VII. 3. 94.

The word "ikah" of the previous sūtra is understood in this sūtra also. The ik letters only are not guṇated or vriddhied before such ārdhadhātuka affixes; the other vowels may do so. Thus in अभाजि the equation is as follows:—अ + भञ्ज् + चिप् = अ + भञ् + इ (VI. 4. 33). Here the ārdhadhātuka affix चिप् has caused a portion of the root भञ्ज्, to be suppressed, *vis.*, the letter झ् has been elided. But nevertheless the अ of भञ् is vriddhied before चिप् because अ is not included in the pratyāhāra ik; and the exception contained in the present sūtra only applies to the ik letters. So also रञ्ज् + घञ् (III. 3. 18) = रञ् + अ (VI. 4. 27.) = रागः (VII. 2. 116. and VII. 3. 52).

कुडित्तिच ॥५॥ पदानि ॥ गित्-कित्-डित्-च । (गुणवृद्धी, न) ॥

इतिः ॥ क्तिन्निमित्ते ये गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतस्ते न भवतः ॥

5. And that, which otherwise would have caused guṇa or vriddhi, does not do so, when it has an indicative क् or इ.

Thus the past participle terminations क्त and क्तवतु are ārdhadhātuka affixes, which would, by the general rule VII. 3. 84, have caused guṇa, but as their indicative letter क is इत्, the real terminations being, त and तवत्, they do not cause guṇa. Therefore, when these terminations are added to a root, the ik of the root is not guṇated. Thus with the root चि "to collect" we have चित् : or चितवान्, श्रू, "to hear," श्रुतः, श्रुतवान् ; भी ; "to fear" भीतः, भीतवान्.

Similarly the terminations क्यप् केलिम, कसु कानच्, क्त्वा, क्तिन्, &c., are all क्तिन् terminations 'the indicative letters of all being क्,' the real affixes being य, एलिम्, वस् &c. &c. &c. Before these, the root is not guṇated. Thus we have from भृ "to bear" भृत्य, from भिद् "to pierce" भिरोलिम.

The terms क्तिन् &c., of this sūtra are in the locative or seventh case. The force of this case termination here is that of निमित्त or cause, that is the guṇa or vriddhi which would otherwise have been caused, does not take place, if an affix is क्तिन्, गित्, डित्. Thus all ārdhadhātuka and sārvaadhātuka affixes cause guṇation of the *final* ik of the inflective base (VII. 3. 84.) Thus the Sārvaadhātuka affix शप् (अ) in the following:—

भू + शप् + तिप् = भो + अ + ति = भवति "he is." Similarly sārvaadhātuka and ārdhadhātuka affixes cause the guṇa substitution of the short *penultimate* ik of the inflective base (VII. 3. 85.) Thus बुध् + शप् + तिप् = बोधति.

The general force of the locative case in an aphorism is to cause the operation directed, on the expression immediately preceding it (I. 1. 66.) If the force of the locative case in the present sūtra were also that as

explained in I. 1. 66, then the interpretation would be this :—An affix having an indicatory *k*, *g* or *ñ*, would not cause the *guṇa* substitution of the vowel *ik*, immediately preceding it. The case of the penultimate short *ik* will not be covered by it. Then though the rule may apply to *चि + क्त = चितः* : “collected” it would not apply to *भिङ् + क्त*; there would be nothing to bar the *guṇa* substitution of the penultimate *इ* of *भिङ्*. This however is prevented by explaining the locative as one of “occasion” and thus *भिङ् + क्त = भिजः* : “broken.”

Similarly from the root *जि* we have a word *जिष्णुः* : ‘victorious,’ in which the affix *गुन्तु* has an indicatory *गु*. Thus *जि + गुन्तु = जिष्णुः* : “victorious” (III. 2. 139), so also *स्यान्तु* : “durable,”

Similarly the affix, *अङ्* is a *ङित्* affix, the real suffix being *अ*, the *ङ्* being merely indicatory. Therefore when *अङ्* is added to a root, there is no *guṇation* or *vriddhi*. Thus we have from *विद्* “to know”. *विदः*:

Similarly by I. 2. 4, all *sārvadhātuka* affixes that are not marked by an indicatory *प्*, are treated as *ङित्*. Thus the second person singular termination *तस्* is *ङित्*, and we have *चिनुत* : “they two collect,” similarly *चिन्वन्ति*, “they collect,” *मृज् + क्त = मृष्टः* : “cleansed,” *मृजन्ति* “they cleanse.”

The phrase “when indicated by the term *ik*” is understood in this *sūtra*. The prohibition, therefore, applies to *ik* vowels only, and not to all vowels in general. Thus by III. 1. 30, the root *कम्* “to desire” takes the affix *णिङ्*; of this affix the letters *ण्* and *ङ्* are indicatory, the real affix is *इ*. The force of *ण्* is to cause *vriddhi* (VII. 2. 116). The indicatory *ङ्* does not prevent such *vriddhi*, as the letter *अ* of *कम्* is not included in *ik*. Thus we have *कामि + अते = कामे + अते = कामयते* “he desires.”

According to the wish of the author of the *Mahābhāṣya*, the verb *मृज्* optionally takes *vriddhi*, before *kit* or *ñit* affixes beginning with a vowel. As *परिमृजन्ति* or *परिमार्जन्ति* “they rub.” Here in this *sūtra* there is prohibition of the *guṇa* of the short penultimate *ik* also.

The indicatory *ङ्* of the verbal tense affixes *i.e.*, *लङ्*, *लिट्*, *लुङ्*, *लृङ्*, is an exception to this rule of *ङित्*. This is an inference deduced from III. 4. 104 which declares “when the sense is that of benediction, then the augment *यासुद्* of *लिट्* is as if it were distinguished by an indicatory *क*.” There would have been no necessity of making *यासुद्* a *ङित्*, if *लिट्* were a *ङित्*, but the very fact of making *यासुद्* a *ङित्* indicates by implication or is *ज्ञापक* that the final *ङ्* of *लिट्*, *लङ्* &c. does not make these tense affixes *ङित्*. Thus in *लङ्* or Imperfect tense we have *अचिनवम्* “he collected” (*अचिन् + लङ् = अचिन् + अम् = अचिनो + अम् = अचिनवम्*.)

दीधी वेवीटाम् ॥६॥ पदानि ॥ दीधी-वेवी-इटाम्, (गुणवृद्धी न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीधीवेवीटिअवे गुणवृद्धी प्राप्नुतस्ते न भवतः ॥ ६ ॥

6. Theguna and vṛiddhi substitutions, which would otherwise have presented themselves, do not however come, in the place of the vowels of didhī 'to shine,' and vevī 'to go,' and of the augment called इद्.

The roots दीधी and वेवी never take the guṇa or vṛiddhi substitutions under ordinary circumstances. Thus the affix ण्वल् generally causes vṛiddhi substitution when added to any root; and so the affix ल्युट् causes guṇa. But these affixes when applied to the verbs didhī and vevī, never cause vṛiddhi or guṇa substitution. As आदीधी + ण्वल् = आदीधी + अक (VII. 1. 1) = आदीध्यकः (VI. 1. 77). So also आदीधी + ल्युट् = आदीधी + अन (VII. 1. 1) = आदीध्यनम्. Similarly from वेवी we have आवेव्यनम् and आवेव्यकः. In the Vedas, however, these verbs take guṇa. Thus अदीधेत् (Rig Ved. X. 98. 7), and अदीधयुः (Rig Ved. V. 40. 5). These two verbs are confined generally to the Vedic literature, and the present rule therefore, seems to be an unnecessary prohibition; as they take guṇa in spite of such prohibition.

Of the augment इद् the real affix is इ. In the general tenses, it is added to certain terminations beginning with consonants of the वल् class, i.e., all consonants except य (VII. 2. 35). Thus the future termination, first person, singular is स्यामि; this when added to the root चर् "to move" requires an intermediate इ, and thus we have the form चरिष्यामि, 'I shall walk.' This इ is never gunated or vṛiddhied, though according to the general rule, coming before an ārdhahātuka termination, it ought to have been gunated.

The augment इद्, could under no circumstances have taken vṛiddhi, the prohibition therefore, is in the case of the guṇa substitute of इद्.

ह्रोऽनन्तराः संयोगः ॥७॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, अनन्तराः, संयोगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिन्नजातीयैरज्जुभिरव्यवहिताः प्रिजटोच्चारिता हलः संयोग संज्ञा भवन्ति समुदायः संज्ञी ॥

7. Consonants unseparated by a vowel are called conjunct consonants.

This defines the word sanyoga. The sūtra consists of three words, हलः, the plural of the pratyāhāra हल्, denoting all the consonants, अनन्तराः means "without any separation or space" and संयोगः which is the word defined, and means "conjunct consonants." So that the sūtra means, conjunct consonants are those consonants between which there is no heterogeneous separating vowel and which are pronounced jointly, such as क्क in the word कुक्कुटः, "cock." The word "sanyoga" applies to the whole of the conjunct consonants jointly and not to them separately. The plural number shows that the conjunction may be of two or more consonants.

Why do we say "consonant"? If two vowels come together they will not be called "sanyoga". Thus तितउच्छ्रं "a sieve umbrella," the two vowels अ and उ have come together unseparated by any consonant; yet they are not called sanyoga, otherwise the final उ would have been rejected by VIII. 2. 23 "there is elision of the final of that pada which ends in a sanyoga letter." Why do we say "unseparated by a vowel"? If consonants separated by a vowel were also called sanyoga, then in the sentence पचति पनसम्, the syllable सम् would be called sanyoga, and by VIII. 2. 29, the initial स would be elided.

मुखनासिकावचनो ऽनुनासिकः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुख-नासिका-
वचनः, अनुनासिकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुखसहिता नासिका मुखनासिका, तथा य उच्चार्यते वर्णः सोऽनुनासिकसंज्ञो भवति ।

8. That which is pronounced by the nose along with the mouth is called *Anunāsika* or nasal.

This defines the word *anunāsika*. The sūtra consists of four words मुख "mouth" नासिका "nose" वचनः "utterance or pronunciation" and अनुनासिकः "nasals." Though the words मुखे + नासिका (II. 4. 2) will by the rule of composition form मुखनासिकं and not मुखनासिका, yet the latter form might be held to be an irregularity; or the phrase मुखनासिकावचनं may be regarded as a compound of मुखनासिक + आवचनं, the word *āvachana* meaning "partial utterance." That is a letter partially uttered by the nose and partially by the mouth would be called *anunāsika*. Therefore the nasals are those letters which are pronounced from two organs or places, *i.e.*, the mouth and the nose. The pure nasal is *anusvāra*, while *anunasikas* are different from this, in as much as, that in pronouncing these, the breath passes through the nose and the mouth.

The vowels are generally so nasalised. 'If, instead of emitting the vowel sound freely through the mouth, we allow the velum pendulum to drop and the air to vibrate through the cavities which connect the nose with the pharynx, we hear the nasal vowels (*anunāsika*).' Thus अँ, औँ. In the Vedas, the particle आह् is *anunāsika*. As अन्न अँ अपः (Rig Veda. V. 48. 1), so also पथिं वीने मेशीर अँ उर्ध्वपुत्रे (Rig Ved. VIII. 67. 11).

The consonants ङ, ज, ण, न and म are also *anunāsika*. Thus ङ is pronounced by the throat along with the nose, ज by the palate and nose, ण by the upper palate and nose; न by the teeth and nose, and म by the lip and nose.

The semi-vowels य, न and ल are also nasalised and are then called *anunāsika*. The term *anunāsika* is used in sūtra V. 1. 126 &c.

Why have we used the word "by the mouth"? This definition will not include *anusvāra* or the pure nasal, which is pronounced wholly through

the nose. Why have we used the word "by the nose"? In order to exclude the consonants क, च, ट, त, प &c. &c., which are pronounced wholly and solely through the mouth.

तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् ॥९॥ पदानि ॥ तुल्य-आस्य-प्रयत्नम्, सवर्णम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्य आस्ये प्रयत्नो यस्य वर्णस्य येन वर्णेन सह स समानजातीयं प्रति सवर्णसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *अकारलृकारयोः सवर्णसंज्ञा वक्तव्या * ॥

9. Those whose place of utterance and effort are equal are called savarna or homogeneous letters.

This defines the word savarna or a homogeneous letter. The sūtra consists of four words :—तुल्य "equal or similar," आस्य "mouth or place of pronunciation," प्रयत्न "effort" and सवर्णम् "words of the same class."

The आस्य or places or portions of the mouth by contact with which various sounds are formed are chiefly the following :—1. कण्ठ "throat" 2. तालु 'palate,' 3. मुखौ , 'head,' 4. दन्ताः 'teeth,' 5. ओष्ठौ 'lips,' 6. नासिका 'nose.'

The प्रयत्नम् or quality or effort is of two sorts primarily, आभ्यन्तरः "internal" and बाह्यः "external." The first is again sub-divided into five parts:—

1. स्पृष्टम् or complete contact of the organs. The twenty-five letters from क to म belong to this class. In pronouncing these there is a complete contact of the root of the tongue with the various places, such as throat, palate, dome of the palate, teeth and lip.

2. ईषत्स्पृष्टम् or slight contact. The letters य, र, ल, व belong to this class of contacts. "In pronouncing these semi-vowels the two organs, the active and passive, which are necessary for the production of all consonantal noises, are not allowed to touch each other, but only to approach."

3. विवृतं or complete opening. The vowels belong to this class.

4. ईषद् विवृतं or slight opening. The letters श, ष, स, ह belong to this class. Some however place the vowels and श &c., into one group and call them all vivṛita.

5. संवृतम् or contracted. In actual use, the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is contracted but it is considered to be open only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of grammar.

The ābhyantara prayatna is the mode of articulation preparatory to the utterance of the sound, the bāhya-prayatna is the mode of articulation at the close of the utterance of the sound.

The division of letters according to ābhyantara prayatna has been already given. By that we get, 1. the sparsa or mute letters, 2. the antastha or intermediate between sparsas and ushmans, or semi-vowel or

liquid letters, 3. the svaras or vowels or vivṛita letters, 4. the ushmans or sibilants or flatus letters.

The division of letters according to bāhya prayatna gives us first surds or aghosha letters, 2. sonants or ghosha letters. The aghosha are also called svāsa letters, the ghoshas are called nāda letters.

The second division of letters according to bāhya prayatna is into ;

1. Aspirated (mahāprāṇa). 2. Unaspirated (alpaprāṇa).

The vowel अ has eighteen forms. The *acute* अ (udātta), *grave* अ (anudātta) and *circumflexed* अ (svarita). Each one of these three may be nasalised (anunāsika), or not (niranunāsika).

Then lastly everyone of these six may be short, long, or prolated. Thus:—अ, अ, अँ, अँ, अँ, आ, आ, आँ, आँ, आँ, अ३, अ३, अँ३, अँ३, अँ३, अँ३.

Similarly the letters इ, उ and ए have also eighteen forms. The letter ल has no long form; it has therefore 12 modifications. The diphthongs have no short forms, they have therefore, only 12 forms. The antastha or semi-vowels with the exception of र have two forms each *viz.*, nasalised and un-nasalised. The semi-vowels have no homogeneous letters corresponding to them. All letters of a varga or 'class' are homogeneous to each other.

Thus then the homogeneous or savarna letters must satisfy two conditions before they could be called savarna. First, their place of pronunciation or आस्थ must be the same. Secondly their प्रयत्न or quality must be equal. If one condition be present and the other be absent, there can be no savarna-hood. Thus च and श are both palatals, their आस्थ or place of pronunciation being तालु 'palate,' but still they are not savarna, because their प्रयत्न is different, the प्रयत्न of च being sprishta and that of श being vivṛita.

Similarly क and च though their प्रयत्न is the same *i.e.*, sprishta, yet their आस्थ being different, one being guttural and the other palatal, are not savarna.

There is exception to this rule in the case of कृ and लृ, which though having different आस्थ are still called savarna by virtue of the vārttika of Kātyāyana; "the homogeneousness of कृ and लृ, one with another, should be stated." Thus होदृ + लृकारः = होदृकारः ; here कृ and लृ have coalesced into long कृ by rules of sandhi, on the assumption that they are savarna letters.

The word savarna occurs in sūtras like अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः (VI. 1. 101).

Why do we say "the place of pronunciation"? So that there may not be homogeneous relationship between कचदत and प whose prayatna is the same but whose āsya is different. What is the harm if we make them savarna? Then in words like तर्ह्य and तर्ह्यम्, the प would be elided, if it be held homogeneous with त, by VIII. 4. 65, "there is optional elision of हर्, preceded by a consonant, when a homogeneous हर् follows."

Why do we say "effort"? That there may be no homogeneity between इ and the palatals, and य and श, whose organ of pronunciation is the same, but whose prayatna is different. What harm if it be so? Then in अरुण्यो-तति, the श would be elided before य by the rule already referred to, VIII. 4. 65.

नाज् झलौ ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न , अच् हलौ, (सवर्णम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुल्यास्य प्रयत्नावपि अज्झलौ परस्परं सवर्णसंज्ञौ न भवतः ॥

10. There is however no homogeneity between vowels and consonants, though their place and effort be equal.

This sūtra lays down an exception to the former sūtra. There can be no homogeneity or savaṛṇa relationship between vowels and consonants, though their आस्य and प्रयत्न may be the same. Thus इ and श have the same आस्य namely तालु 'palate,' and the same प्रयत्न : namely vivṛita, but still they are not to be called savaṛṇa. Thus in वण्डहस्त, वधिरातिनं &c., the letters अ and ह in the first example, and इ and श in the second not being homogeneous letters; there is no combination or sandhi, which would otherwise have taken place.

Similarly if श and इ be held homogeneous, then विपाश + अण् (IV. 3. 53) = विपाश् + अण् (VI. 4. 148; here श would be elided by VI. 4. 148, but it is not so and we have वैपाश : "belonging to vipāśa or born therein." So also in आनडुहं "ox-skin," the ह would have been omitted, if held homogeneous with अ.

ईदूदेइद्विवचनम् प्रगृह्यम् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईद्-ऊद्-एद्
द्विवचनम् , प्रगृह्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईत् ऊत् एत् इत्येवमन्तं द्विवचनं शब्दरूपं प्रगृह्य संज्ञं भवति ॥

11. A dual case affix ending in ई or ऊ or ए is called Pragrihya, or excepted vowels which do not admit of sandhi or conjunction.

As a general rule, Sanskrit allows of no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel, and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce, according to certain rules. This is called sandhi. But pragrihyas are exceptions to this sandhi, "they are certain terminations, the final vowels of which are not liable to any sandhi rules." (VI. 1. 125). This sūtra gives three of these terminations, viz., the duals of nouns or verbs ending in ई (ईत्), ऊ (ऊत्), or ए (एत्). Thus:—कवी इमौ "these two poets," so also वायु इति "two winds;" माले इति "these two garlands." पचते इति "they two cook" पचथे इति "you two cook." Here according to the general rule of sandhi, the final इ of कवी and the initial इ of इमौ ought to have coalesced into an ई, but it is not so, because कवी is the nominative dual of कवि.

Why do we say ending in *i*, *ii* and *e*? Because when the dual ends in any other vowel this rule will not apply. As वृक्षौ + अत्र = वृक्षावत्र, "these two trees" (VI. 1. 78). Of course it follows from the definition, that ई, ऊ, or ए of the dual number only are prāgrihya; if these vowels terminate any other number they will not be prāgrihya but will follow the general rule of sandhi, as कुमारी (1. s.) + अत्र = कुमार्यत्र, "the girl is here" (VI. 1. 77).

Vārt: The prohibition of मनीव &c., should be stated in treating of the prāgrihya nature of ई, ऊ &c. Thus मनी (two gems) + इव = मनीव "like two gems." So also सम्पतीव "like a couple," जम्पतीव "like man and wife," रोदसीव "like heaven and earth." Some say that this vārtika is unnecessary. Because the final member of the above words is not इव, but the particle व only; which has the same meaning as *iva*.

अदसोमात् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदसः, मात्, (इदूदेत् प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदसः सम्बन्धी यो मकारस्तस्मात् पर ईदूदेतः प्रगृह्य संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

12. (The same letters) after the *m* of the pronoun अदस् are Prāgrihya.

In the pronoun अदस्, the dual termination in ई, ऊ or ए will be prāgrihya by force of the last sūtra, but the present sūtra makes this addition, that in the case of अदस्, all terminations ending in ई, ऊ or ए and preceded by *m*, of whatever number they may be, will be prāgrihya. As a matter of fact, there are only two such terminations satisfying the above conditions namely अमी and अमू. The rule may therefore be put in the following words of Dr. Max Muller:—"The terminations of अमी and अमू nom. plur. masc. and nom. dual of the pronoun अदस् are prāgrihya." As अमी अन्वा: "Those horses," and अमू आसते. There is no example of the word *adas* ending in ए.

Why do we say "of the word *adas*"? The letters ई, ऊ, ए following after the *m* of any other word will not be prāgrihya. As शमी + अत्र = शम्यत्र "this sami tree."

Why do we say "after the letter *m*"? Because in the example अमुके + अत्र = अमुके ऽत्र, "those here," the ए, preceded not by *m* but by the क of अकच् (V. 3. 71) is not prāgrihya, which it would have been by the influence of sūtra 11, which includes ए as well as ई and ऊ, and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

शे ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शे, (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शे इत्येतत् प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं भवति ॥

13. The affix शे, (the Vedic substitute of the case-affixes), is a prāgrihya.

In the Vedic Sanskrit, the declension of nouns sometimes differs somewhat from the ordinary Sanskrit. One of the peculiar Vedic terminations, which

replace the ordinary declensional terminations is called श्रे (VII. 1. 39.) Thus अस्मेइन्द्रावृहस्पती .

Of this substitute श्रे, the initial श is indicatory, the real suffix being ए. This final ए is a prāgrihya.

In the sacred literature there is only one example of this prāgrihya, as given above; while in imitation of this, we have in secular writing phrases as, स्वेदति, युष्मे इति, मे इति &c.

निपात एकाजनाङ् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातः , एकाच् , अनाङ् । (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकभासावच्च एकाच् निपातो य एकाच् आङ्पूर्वजितः स प्रगृह्यसंज्ञो भवति ॥

14. A particle I. 4. 56 consisting of a single vowel, with the exception of the particle आङ् is a Prāgrihya.

This sūtra consists of three words:—निपातः “particle,” एकाच् “consisting of one vowel,” अनाङ् “with the exception of आङ्.”

All such particles technically called nipāta (I. 4. 56) which consist of a simple vowel without any consonant, are prāgrihya and therefore are not liable to the rules of sandhi. As इ इन्द्र. “Oh, Indra” उ उत्तिष्ठ “O arise.”

It follows from the above definition that those nipātas which consist of two or more letters, vowel and consonant, are not prāgrihya, e. g. प्र in प्राग्नये वाचमीरय .

आङ् which is not a prāgrihya, has four significations:— As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, as आ + उष्णम् = ओष्णम् “little hot, tepid” (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of “near” “nearto,” and with verbs of “motion,” “taking” &c., it shows the reverse of the action, as गम् ‘to go,’ आगम् ‘to come,’ अ + इहि = एहि, (3) as showing the limit inceptive (अभिविधि) “from,” “ever since,” as आजन्मनः “ever since his birth,” (4) as showing the limit exclusive (मर्यादा), “till” “until” as आ + आध्ययनात् = आध्ययनात्, “until the reading begins.” When the particle आ has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c., it is a prāgrihya, as आ एवं किंजासीत् “Ah! such there once was,” आ एवं मन्यसे. “Oh! do you think so.”

The word एकाच् in this aphorism has a peculiar meaning. It means “consisting of one vowel and nothing else.” In other words, the vowels themselves when used as निपात, e. g. आ, उ, इ &c. But the term एकाच् has a wider signification than that given to it in this sūtra. It means “a word or a portion of a word consisting of one vowel which can be pronounced at once”—in other words एकाच् means a “syllable.” In that sense the words प्र, नि, वि &c., will also be एकाच्, but not so here. Therefore the rule of sandhi will apply

to them, thus प्राग्नेये वाचमीरय. See sūtra VI. 1. 1. where the word एकाच् means a monosyllable.

Why do we say "a nipāta?" Because if the single vowel is not a particle, but something else, an affix &c., then it will not be a pragrihya, as the final अ in चकार "he did," is the affix of third person perfect tense, and is liable to sandhi; as चकाराच्च.

ओत् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओत्, (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओदन्तो यो निपातः स प्रगृह्य संज्ञो भवति ॥

15. The final ओ of a particle is a pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of one word ओत् the final त् is a surplusage. The words "pragrihya" and "nipāta" are to be supplied from the preceding sūtras to complete the sense. The meaning is that those particles which end in ओ though consisting of several letters, are pragrihya. As अहो अपेहि "Halloo, go away."

सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्थे ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बुद्धौ, शाकल्यस्य, इती, अनार्थे, (प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्बुद्धिं निमित्तो य ओकारः स शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन प्रगृह्य संज्ञो भवति, इति शब्दे एतार्थे अवैदिके परतः ॥

16. The final ओ of the vocative singular (II. 3. 49) before the word इति according to Śākalya, in secular or non-vedic literature, is pragrihya.

This sūtra gives the opinion of the Rishi Śākalya, so that it is an optional rule. Thus both forms वाचाविति (formed according to the general rule of sandhi) and वाचो इति (where ओ is pragrihya) are correct.

In ārsha literature the sandhi is imperative, not optional, as एता गा ब्रह्मबन्धवित्यब्रवीत्.

The mention of the name of any sage, such as that of Śākalya in this sūtra, serves generally one of the two purposes:—(1) either it makes the rule an optional one, vibhāṣārtham, or (2) the mention is merely for the sake of showing respect to the particular sage, the rule would have stood as well without such mention; pujārtham, as the word Kāśyapa in sūtra I. 2. 25.

उजः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उजः, (प्रगृह्यम् शाकल्यस्येतावनार्थे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उजः प्रगृह्य संज्ञा भवति इती शाकल्यस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

17. The particle उज् before इति, according to Śākalya is a Pragrihya.

This sūtra consists of the single word उज् meaning उ. According to the same Rishi Śākalya, उज् is a pragrihya, before इति, in modern Sanskrit. This is also an optional rule. Thus उ इति or विति.

ऊँ ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊँ, (शाकल्य०, उजः, प्रगृह्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उज इतावनार्थे ऊँ इत्ययमदेशो भवति दीर्घोऽनुनासिकः शाकल्यस्य मतेन प्रगृह्य संज्ञकश्च ॥

18. The particle ऊँ replaces उज in non-vedic literature, and it is a pragrihya in the opinion of Sakalya.

Before the word इति the word उज् is replaced sometimes by ऊँ the long nasal \bar{u} . Thus ऊँ + इति = ऊँ इति or विति.

"In some authorities the sūtras 17 and 18 form but one sūtra, and then it is divided by the method of *yoga-vibhāga*, the division of a single sūtra into two separate sūtras having two distinct rules.

ईदूतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईद्-ऊतौ, च, सप्तमी-अर्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईदन्तमूदन्तश्च शब्द रूपं सप्तम्यर्थे वर्त्तमानं प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं भवति ॥

19. The final ई and ऊ of words giving the sense of the locative case are pragrihya.

This sūtra finds its scope in the Vedic literature generally. There is a sūtra (VII. 1. 39) which declares that "in the Vedic Sanskrit, the case-affixes *sup* are often replaced either by सु (1. s.), or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or आ, or आत्, or शे, or या, or डा, or डया, or याच्, or आल् takes their place." Let us take the example where a case-affix is changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior. Thus the case-affix of the seventh case is डि (इ). In forming the 7. s. of तनू "body," we have तनू + इ. The इ will be changed into a homogeneous letter with ऊ and we have तनू + ऊ = तनू "in the body," as, अध्यस्यां मामकीतनू (for मामक्यां तन्वां). This is the Vedic form, the secular form being तन्वां. Similarly गौरी + इ = गौरी "on the Gauri," as सोमो गौरी अधिष्ठितः (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3). It is in such cases, therefore, that the long \bar{i} and \bar{u} are used in the sense of locative, and are pragrihya.

It is only long \bar{i} and \bar{u} which are pragrihya, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative. Thus by the same aphorism (VII. 1. 39) ढा (आ) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus अग्नि + डि = अग्नि + डा = अग्ना 'in the fire,' as, प्रियः सूर्ये प्रियो अग्ना भवाति य इन्द्राय सुतसोमो दशशत् (Rig Veda V. 37. 5). Here अग्ना though in the locative case, its final is not pragrihya. Therefore अग्ना + इति = अग्नेति.

The ई and ऊ must be of the 7th case. Therefore मति + टा (3rd s.) = मति + इ (letter homogeneous with the prior) = मती 'with wisdom'. Here \bar{i} is in the sense of the instrumental case and is not pragrihya. Thus मती + इति = मताति.

The word अर्थ is used in the aphorism, in order to exclude the application of this rule to cases like the following. Thus in forming the compound of वाप्याम् "in the well" and अश्व "horse," the case-affix is elided, and we get वापी + अश्व. Here, no doubt, the word वापी is in the locative case, though the case-affix is elided; but we cannot say that the long ई of vâpî has the *sense* of the locative. Here, therefore, we shall have sandhi; as, वाप्यश्वः "the horse near the well." In other words, the present aphorism is not to apply to the final ई or ऊ of words standing as the prior member of a compound term (pûrva-pada); for words like वापी &c., in the above example, can never, *by themselves* and *alone*, denote the locative case; while words like गौरी, formed in the way described already, give the *sense* of the locative, even alone, though they be placed anywhere in a sentence.

दाधाध्वदाप् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ दा, धा, घु, अदाप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरूपाश्चत्वारो धातवो धारूपौ च द्वौ, दाध्वैपौ वर्जयित्वा घुसंज्ञका भवन्ति ॥

20. The verbs having the form of dâ 'to give' and dhâ 'to place,' are called ghu.

This defines the word ghu. Four verbs have the form of दा, or assume it by the application of VI. 1. 45, and two, of धा; they are called घु. The ghu verbs have certain peculiarities of conjugation to be described hereafter.

The घु verbs are the following:—दुवाञ् "to give," as प्रणिददाति; दाञ् "to give," as, प्रणिददाता; दो "to cut," as, प्रणिददति; देह् "to pity" as, प्रणिददते, दुधाञ् "to place" as, प्रणिदधाति, धेद् to "feed" as, प्रणिधयति.

In the above examples, because of the verbs being घु, the न of प्रणि is changed into ण by VIII. 4. 17.

Similarly दाप् "to cut" and दैप् "to clean" not being called घु, rules VII. 4. 46 and 47 do not apply to them. Thus दा + क्त = दातं 'what is cut,' as, दातं बर्हिः. So also अवदातं "washed" as, अवदातं मुखं "a bright face." But with दा "to give," &c. दा + क्त = दद् + त (VII. 4. 46) = दत्तः "given;" so also we have प्र + दा + क्त = प्रदत्तम् (VII. 4. 47). The word घु occurs in sûtra VI. 4. 66, &c. The word dâp includes also daip by the paribhâshâ given under III. 4. 19, दै changed into आ by VI. 1. 45.

आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-अंत-वत्, एकस्मिन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदाविव अन्तइव एकस्मिन्नपि कार्यं भवति ॥

21. An operation should be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final.

This is an atideśa sûtra and consists of four words, आदि "beginning," अन्त "end," वत् "like," एकस्मिन् "in one;" the literal translation being "beginning is end-like in one." The affix वत् has the force of the locative, and the

meaning is "on the beginning," and "on the end," i.e., let an operation be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final. Thus by III. 1. 3. an affix has udâtta or acute accent on its initial vowel. Thus the affix tavya has accent on the first अ, and we have कृत्तव्यम्. But when an affix consists of a single vowel, it is itself the beginning and the end, and, as such, will have the accent. As in औपगवम् aupagavam the last अ has the accent, which अ represents the affix अण्.

Similarly, by VII. 3. 102, the final of a base ending in short अ is lengthened before a case-affix beginning with a consonant of यञ् class. Thus राम+भ्याम्=रामाभ्याम्. This rule will apply when the word consists of one letter only, and that letter is a short अ. Thus अ+भ्याम्=आभ्याम् "by those two." Here it must not be objected that the solitary अ is initial, and cannot be final.

Why do we say "in one"? If a word consists of more than one letter, then the beginning is not like the end. Thus in the word सभा the initial short अ is not like the final long आ; otherwise सभा would get the name of वृद्धम् (I. 1. 73), and the secondary derivative from सभासन्नयन would be formed by the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). But this is not so, the affix अण् is employed instead, and the form is सभासन्नयनः.

तरप्तमपौ चः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तरप्-तमपौ, चः ॥

- वृत्तिः ॥ तरप् तमप् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ च संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

22. The affixes tarap and tamap are called च.

This sūtra defines च affixes. They are two, तर and तम, the प in them being इत्. The special use of these affixes will be described later on. These affixes are useful in forming the comparative and the superlative degrees respectively of adjectives, adverbs, &c. The base undergoes certain changes before these terminations, which will be treated of in its proper place.

Thus the words कुमारितरा and कुमारितमा are formed by adding the affixes तर and तम to the word कुमारी 'a girl,' whose long ई is shortened before these affixes by sūtra 43 of the third chapter of the 6th Book.

बहुगणवतुडति संख्या ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु-गण-वतु-डति , संख्या ॥

- वृत्तिः ॥ बहुगणवतुडति इत्येते संख्यासंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *अर्द्धपूर्वपदश्च पूरणप्रत्ययान्तः संख्यासंज्ञो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्, समासकन् विध्यर्थम् ॥

23. The words bahu 'many,' gana 'class,' and the words ending in the affix vatu (V. 2. 39), and dati (V. 2. 41) are called numerals (sankhya).

This sūtra defines the word saṅkhyā, or numeral.

These are certain words, besides the ordinary numerals, having some peculiarity of declension. The words like बहु 'many,' and गण 'class,' and those that have the affixes वत् and अति after them, belong to this class. The letters उ and ड of वतु and डति are इत्, or indicatory, the actual affixes being वत् and अति.

The word saṅkhyā means "numerals;" and this class contains, among others, the Sanskrit numerals. The words formed by adding वतु are generally compound pronouns, *e. g.* तावत् "so much," यावत् "as much," एतावत् "so much," similarly words formed by the affix डति, *e. g.* कति "how many," तति "so many," यति "as many."

Thus बहु + कृत्वसुच् (V. 4. 17) = बहुकृत्वः "many times" the affix कृत्वसुच् being added only to saṅkhyā words in the sense of the repetition of the action. So also बहु + धा (V. 3. 42) = बहुधा "in many ways." Here also the affix धा is added by virtue of बहु being a saṅkhyā. Similarly बहुकः (V. 1. 22) "purchased for a big sum," बहुशः (V. 4. 43) "manifold." So also गणकृत्वः, गणधा, गणकः, गणशः; so also तावत्कृत्वः, तावद्धा, तावच्छः; कतिकृत्वः, कतिधा, कतिकः, कतिशः.

When the words बहु and गण mean "abundance" and "multitude" they are not saṅkhyā. It is only when they are expressive of numbers, that they get the designation of saṅkhyā. The necessity of defining saṅkhyā arose in order to exclude such words as भूति "numerous," &c., which though they express numbers, are not to be treated as "numerals," technically so called.

Vart:—The word अर्द्ध "half" when standing as a first term in a compound number which takes an affix giving the sense of an ordinal, gets the designation of saṅkhyā, for the purposes of the application of the rules of samāsa and of the affix कन्. The ordinal affixes or pûraṇa pratyayas are like ड् (V. 2. 48), म् (V. 2. 49), थक् (V. 2. 51), &c. Thus एकादशः "eleventh," पंचमः "fifth," चतुर्थः "fourth," &c. Similarly we have अर्द्धपंचमशूर्पः "purchased for 4½ baskets" (a dvigu). Here अर्द्ध + पंचमा (an ordinal) = अर्द्धपंचम्, a bahuvrīhi compound meaning 4½, *viz.*, that in which half is the fifth term. अर्द्धपंचमैः शूर्पैः क्रीतः = अर्द्धपंचमशूर्पः the taddhita affixes डञ् and अञ् required by V. 1. 19 and 26 being elided by V. 1. 28.

Here, there is compounding (dvigu) by taking अर्द्धपंचमम् as a saṅkhyā, and then applying sūtra II. 1. 51. The samāsa here is in the sense of taddhita, and this compounding is only possible by rules (II. 1. 50 and 51), when अर्द्धपंचमम् gets the appellation of saṅkhyā. Having got this name, it forms dvigu compound in the sense of the taddhita affixes अञ् and डञ् (V. 1. 26). The word शूर्पे takes both these affixes in the sense of "being

bought with." Thus शौर्षिकम् and शौर्षम् both mean "bought with a measure called śūrpa." In the above compound of अर्द्धपञ्चमशूर्पः the sense is that of the above-named taddhita; but the affixes have been elided by V. 1. 28 after dvigu compounds. So also we have अर्द्धपञ्चमकः by applying the affix कन्. For these two purposes, namely samāsa and the application of कन्, compounds of ardha, like ardha-pañchama are treated as saṅkhyā.

अन्ता षट् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष-ण्-अन्ता, षट्, (संख्या) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारान्ता नकारान्ता च या संख्या सा षट्संज्ञा भवति ॥

24. The Sankhyās having ष or न as their final are called shat.

This sūtra defines the term षट् which is a subdivision of the larger group saṅkhyā. Those saṅkhyās which end in ष् or न् are called षट्. The word saṅkhyā is understood in this sūtra, because the word अन्ता is in the feminine gender, showing that it qualifies saṅkhyā which is also feminine.

The numerals that end in ष or न are six, namely पञ्चन् 'five,' षष् 'six,' सप्तन्, 'seven,' अष्टन् 'eight,' नवन् 'nine,' दशन् 'ten.'

It is one of the peculiarities of षट् words that they lose their nominative and accusative plural terminations (VII. 1. 22). Thus षट् तिष्ठन्ति, पञ्च गच्छन्ति ॥

The word अन्त in the sūtra shows that the letters ष and न must be aupadeśika i.e., must belong to the words as originally enunciated and not added afterwards as affix &c. Thus in शतानि 'hundreds,' सहस्राणि 'thousands,' अष्टानाम् 'of eights' the न is not radical, but an augment, and therefore they are not षट् and the nominative and accusative plural terminations are not elided; as शतान् + इ = शतानि &c.

इति च ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इति, च, (संख्या, षट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्यन्ता या संख्या सा षट्संज्ञा भवति ॥

25. And the saṅkhyās ending with the affix dati are called shat.

This sūtra enlarges the scope of the definition of षट् by including in it, words formed by इति. By sūtra 22, words in इति are already saṅkhyā; by this they are also षट्. Therefore we have कति पठन्ति, 'how many are reading,' कति पश्य 'see how many.' Here कति has lost its plural termination by VII. 1. 22.

कृत्तवतू निष्ठा ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृ-क्तवतू, निष्ठा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्तवतू कृत्तवतू प्रत्ययौ निष्ठासंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

26. The affixes kta and ktavatu are called Nishthā.

This defines the nishṭha affixes, that is to say, the affixes of the past participle. The actual affixes are त्, तवत्, the क and उ being indicatory. They being कित् are liable to all the rules applicable to कित् affixes, such as rule I. 1. 5. Thus we have, कृतः, कृतवान्, भुक्तः, भुक्तवान्.

The force of the indicatory उ in ktavatu is, by IV. 1. 6, to indicate that in forming the feminine of nouns ending in an affix having an indicatory vowel of ūk pratyahāra (उ, ऋ, ॠ), the affix ङीप् (ई) must be added. Thus कृतवत् (masc.), कृतवती (fem.). The word nishṭhā occurs in sūtra VII. 2. 14.

सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व-आदीनि,
सर्वनामानि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वशब्द आदिवेषां तानीमानि सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

27. The words sarva, 'all,' and the rest are called sarvanāma or pronouns.

This defines sarvanāma or pronominals. To know what are the other words comprised in the phrase 'and the rest' we must refer to Pāṇini's Gaṇapāṭha where a list of all groups referred to in the sūtras, is given. Thus we know from it, that the following are sarvanāma:—

सर्व 'all,' विश्व 'all,' उभ 'two,' उभय 'both,' words formed by the affix उत्तर such as कतर 'which of two,' words formed by the affix इतम as कतम 'which of many,' अन्य 'other,' अन्यतर 'either,' इतर 'other,' त्वत् 'other,' त्व 'other,' नेन 'half,' सम 'all,' सिम 'whole,' त्वद् 'he, she, it,' तद् 'he, she, it,' यद् 'who,' एतद् 'this,' इदम् 'it,' अदस् 'that,' एक 'one,' द्वि 'two,' युष्मद् 'you,' अस्मद् 'I,' भवतु 'you,' किम् 'what.' So also पूर्व 'east,' prior, पर 'subsequent,' अपर 'west or posterior,' दक्षिण 'south or right,' उत्तर 'north or inferior, subsequent,' अपर 'other or inferior,' अधर 'west or inferior,' are sarvanāmas when they imply a relation in time or place, as shown above, and not when they are names. So also स्व when it does not mean a 'kinsman or a treasure,' but means 'own.' So also अन्तर when it means 'outer,' or 'an under or lower garment' is a sarvanāma.

There are certain peculiarities in the declension of sarvanāma words. Thus सर्व though ending in अ, is not declined like नर which also ends in अ, the plural of सर्व being सर्वे, that of नर being नराः. Similarly the dative singular नराय, सर्वस्मै; the abl. sing. नरात्, सर्वस्मात्; the loc. sing. नरे, सर्वस्मिन्; the Gen. pl. नराणाम्, सर्वेषाम् &c.

The compounds (with certain exceptions) ending in these words are also sarvanāmas. The word उभ 'both' is always used in the dual number as उभौ, उभयान्. The object of its being inserted in the list of pronominals, (whilst its declension does not differ from that of नर), is its taking the augment अकच् (V. 3. 71) which it could not have taken, if it were not a pronominal

as उभयो. Another object gained by its being so called, is the application of II. 3. 27, by which a pronominal may take the case-affix of the 3rd case or the 6th case in denoting cause.

There are two स्व in the above list, namely स्वत् and स्व, having the same meaning, and both ending in अ. But the final अ of one is udâta, and of the other anudâta. Some give one स्वत् only and not the other, and say that both have anudâta accent. The word सम is a sarvanâma, when it is synonymous with the word सर्व 'all,' and not when it means 'equality.' When it has the latter sense of 'equality,' it is declined like नर *i.e.* like ordinary words ending in अ, as Pāṇini himself indicates in I. 3. 10, where he uses the regular genitive plural समानाम्, meaning 'among or of equals.' As a pronominal the genitive plural would have been समेषाम्.

The above words sarva &c. are not to be treated as pronouns when they are used as appellatives. For example, if सर्व be the name of a person then it will be declined like ordinary nouns, as सर्वाय देहि 'give to Sarva (a person)'. Here the dative singular is regularly formed. Similarly when these words are so compounded with others as to lose their original independent character, namely when they are उपसर्जन, they are not treated as sarvanâma, but follow the regular declension, as अतिसर्वाय देहि 'give to (him who is) above all.' Here in the compound अतिसर्व 'Above-all' or 'Supreme Being,' the word सर्व loses its independent character and defines and determines the sense of another word. Fuller explanation of the word upasarjana will be given later on in I. 2. 43. This term सर्वनाम is an अन्वर्थसंज्ञा that is a term the application of which accords with its meaning.

विभाषा दिक्समासे बहुव्रीहौ ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा,
दिक्-समासे, बहुव्रीहौ, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिशां समासो दिक्समासो दिगुपदिष्टे समासे बहुव्रीहौ विभाषा सर्वादीनि सर्वनाम संज्ञानि भवन्ति ।

28. The above words are optionally sarvanâma when they occur in a bahuvrīhi compound signifying direction (II. 2. 26.)

This is an exception to sūtra 29 which follows. As a general rule (see sūtra 29), in bahuvrīhi compounds, these words sarva &c. are declined like ordinary nouns. The present sūtra declares an option to this, in special cases relating to compounds signifying direction. Thus the bahuvrīhi compound of direction उत्तरपूर्वा 'north-east' may form its dative case as a pronominal, *e.g.* उत्तरपूर्वस्यै or it may form its dative like ordinary words ending in अ, *i.e.* उत्तरपूर्वायै. So दक्षिणपूर्वस्यै or दक्षिणपूर्वायै.

Why do we say "when signifying a direction"? The next sūtra will enjoin that in bahuvrīhi compounds, these words are not treated as pronominals. Therefore, if in the present sūtra, we had not used the word दिक्, it would have been impossible to know where there was option and where prohibition. By employing the word "direction," it is thus determined, that in a samāsa, relating to direction (II. 2. 26), there is allowed option, while there is prohibition in all other kinds of bahuvrīhi compounds.

Why do we say "in compound"? So that the option may be in that bahuvrīhi which is purely samāsa, and in no other bahuvrīhi. There is no option allowed in that bahuvrīhi where there is a semblance of bahuvrīhi but not exact bahuvrīhi.

The quasi-bahuvrīhi, or analogical bahuvrīhi compounds, or to use the Sanskrit phrase, bahuvrīhi-vadbhāva, is taught in sūtra VIII. 1. 9. where words in repetition are treated like bahuvrīhi. Thus एकं + एकं = एकैकम् 'one and one, each one.' Bahuvrīhi compounds are possessive compounds, but in the above example, no idea of possession enters. However the compound here is treated like a bahuvrīhi, for the purposes of the elision of the case-affix of the first member, and the whole compound gets the designation of prātipadika. In compounds like this, therefore, which are bahuvrīhi-vat, but not exactly bahuvrīhi, the present rule and the succeeding sūtra do not apply. Thus एकैकस्मै देहि 'give to each one,' वक्षिणवक्षिणस्यै देहि ॥

Why do we say "in the bahuvrīhi"? So that there may be no option in the dvandva compound. Thus दक्षिणोत्तरपूर्वाणाम् 'of the south, north and east.' The prohibition in the case of dvandva by rule 31 is absolute and invariable.

न बहुव्रीहौ ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, बहुव्रीहौ, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि, समासे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुव्रीहौ समासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

29. The words sarva &c., are not sarva-nāma when occurring in a bahuvrīhi compound.

As a general rule (see sūtra 72), when any definition, rule, operation &c. is made applicable to a particular word, the same would also apply to any other word which ends in that word. Thus the plural of man being 'men' in English, the plural of blackman will be blackmen. So the definition of sarva-nāma given to sarva &c., separately, will also apply to the words ending in sarva &c.

This sūtra introduces thus an exception to sūtra 27. In bahuvrīhi or possessive compounds, the nature of which compounds will be described

later on, the above mentioned words are not pronominals, and must follow the ordinary rule of declension. Thus the compound *प्रियविश्व* meaning 'beloved of all' is a bahuvrīhi compound of *प्रिय* 'beloved,' and *विश्व* 'all,' (which is a sarvanāma). The declension of this compound will follow the general rule. Thus, in the dative singular, we have *प्रियविश्वाय*, though the dative singular of *विश्व* by itself is *विश्वस्मै*, like other pronominals. So also *प्रियोभयाय* "to him who is beloved of both." So also *द्वयन्याय*, *त्रयन्याय* &c.

Similarly in bahuvrīhi compounds, these words not being treated as pronominals, they do not take also the special affix *अकच्*, but the general affix *कन्*. As, *त्वत्कपित्थको*, *मत्कपित्थको* (V. 3. 70).

Though the word bahuvrīhi was present in this sūtra by anuvṛitti from the last aphorism, the object of using the word bahuvrīhi again in this sūtra, is this:—that the prohibition may apply to those expressions also which are no longer bahuvrīhi, but whose original components were once bahuvrīhi. Thus the words *बलान्तरा* and *वसनान्तरा* are bahuvrīhi compounds; but when these two words are further compounded into a dvandva compound, the present rule still applies. As, *बलान्तरावसनान्तरा* : ॥

तृतीयासमासे ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-समासे, (सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि, न,) ॥

- वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयासमासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

30. In Instrumental Determinative Compounds the words *sarva* &c. are not sarvanāma.

This is another exception to the definition of sarvanāma. There is a class of compounds in Sanskrit called tatpurusha compounds, in which the last word governs the preceding one. The word governed may be in any one of the six cases: when it is in the third or instrumental case, the compound is called tritīyā tatpurusha. When, therefore, there is such a samāsa, the words mentioned in sūtra 26 are not to be declined like pronominals. Thus the word *मासपूर्व* is a compound of *मास* and *पूर्व* = *मासेनपूर्व* meaning 'prior by a month,' where the word *māsa* is in the instrumental case. This compound will be declined like ordinary words, e.g. its dative will be *मासपूर्वाय*, though the dative of *पूर्व*, when standing by itself, is *पूर्वस्मै*; so also *संवत्सरपूर्वाय* !

The tritīya-samāsa of the present sūtra has reference to the special tritīyā-samāsa ordained by the particular sūtra II. 1. 31. namely, "that which ends with the 3rd case affix, is compounded with the words *pūrva*, *sadṛśa*, *sama*, &c." and has not reference to the tritīyā-samāsa in general, such as one ordained by II. 1. 32, "that which ends with the 3rd case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded diversely with what ends in a

kṛit affix." Therefore, in phrases *त्वयका कृतं* 'done by thee,' *मयका कृतं* 'done by me,' these words are treated as pronominals, though in the instrumental case followed by a word ending in a kṛit-affix. In other words, reading this sūtra with II. 1. 31, we find that *pūrva* is the only *sarvanāma* which is so compounded, and to which only the present sūtra would seem to apply.

The word *समास* may appear to have been mentioned redundantly, as it has already been mentioned in the previous sūtra, the primary object of the sūtra authors being to shorten the rules by the keeping out of every unnecessary word. But here, the word *समास* has been repeated, to show that even in phrases like *मासेन पूर्वाय*, though not a compound, but used in construction with an instrumental case, the word *पूर्वे* is not a *sarvanāma*, that is to say, the prohibition extends even to phrases, which bear the sense of the instrumental compound, though not exhibited in the form of the instrumental compound.

द्वन्द्वे च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वे, च, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि,

समासे, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे च समासे सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

31. And in Collective Compound, II. 2. 26 the words *sarva* &c., are not *sarvanāma*.

This sūtra mentions another exception. In collective compounds the above words are not *sarvanāma*. *Dvandva* is a compound in which two words are simply joined together, the compound taking the terminations of the dual or plural according to the number of compounded words, or the terminations of the singular, being treated as a collective term. Thus, the compound *वर्णाश्रमेतर* means, *वर्ण* 'the castes,' *आश्रम* 'the orders' and *इतर* 'the others'. The word *इतर* in this compound is not to be treated as a *sarvanāma*, but an ordinary word. Therefore, in the genitive plural we have:—*वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम्* and not *इतरेषाम्*. So also *पूर्वापराणाम्* 'of the priors and the posteriors.'

The word *च* 'and' in the sūtra indicates that it closes the list of exceptions or prohibitions that began with sūtra. 29.

विभाषा जसि ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, जसि, (सर्वादीनि, सर्वनाम, द्वन्द्वे समासे, न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वे समासे जसि विभाषा सर्वादीनि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि न भवन्ति ॥

32. (Their *dvandva* compounds) are optionally *sarvanāma* when the nominative plural termination *jas* follows.

This is a proviso to sūtra 31, and declares that before the termination *जस्* (which is the termination of the nominative plural, as we shall find later on, and which in the pronominals is replaced by *श्चि*), the *dvandva*

compounds may be treated either as sarvanāmas or as ordinary words. Thus the plural of वर्णाश्रमेतर may be either वर्णाश्रमेतराः or ०तरे, that is, the word may take either जस् or शी.

This sūtra governs the four succeeding sūtras. The option allowed in the case of the application of the affix जस् 1st pl. to the dvandva compounds of pronominals, does not extend to the dvandva compounds of pronominals which take the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71). There the sūtra 31 is absolute. Thus, कतरः+ कतमकः = कतरकतमकाः in the plural. This affix अक (अकच्) comes before the last vowel, with what follows it, of the pronominals and indeclinables.

प्रथमचरमतयाल्पाद्वृत्तिपयनेमाश्च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथम-
चरम-तय-अल्प-अर्द्ध-कतिपय-नेमाः, च (विभाषाजसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथम चरम तय अल्प अर्द्ध कतिपय नेम इत्येतेजसि विभाषा सर्वनामसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

33. And also the words prathama 'first'; charama 'last,' words ending with the affix taya (V. 2. 42); alpa 'few' ardha 'half' katipaya 'some,' and nema 'half' are optionally sarvanāma, before the nom. pl. termination.

Thus we have प्रथमे or प्रथमाः, चरमे or चरमाः, अल्पे or अल्पाः, अर्द्धे or अर्द्धाः, कतिपये or कतिपयाः, नेमे or नेमाः, द्वितये or द्वितयाः ॥

The words "optionally when the affix जस् follows" are understood in this sūtra. The governing force of the word "dvandva" does not extend to this, and stops at this. By the word तय in the aphorism, is meant words ending in the affix तय. The rest are prātipadikas or crude bases. The word नेम has already been enumerated among the pronominals, therefore, the option in its case, is what is called prāpta-vibhāṣā, the result of which will be that though in the nom. pl. it may be declined like नर, the rest of its declension is like sarva, while in the case of prathama &c. the nom. pl. may be like sarva, but the rest of their declension must be like that of nara. The word ubhaya, has been formed by the addition of the affix तय, and it is already enumerated in the list of pronominals, therefore, by the present sūtra its nom. pl. admits of two forms.

The application of the affix kan or akach must depend upon the nature of these words, if pronominals, then akach, otherwise kan.

पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ३४ ॥
पदानि ॥ पूर्व-पर-अवर-दक्षिण-उत्तर-अपर-अधराणि, व्यवस्थायाम्, असंज्ञा-
याम्, (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वादीनि विभाषा जसि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि भवन्ति व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् ॥

34. The words *pârva* 'prior,' *para* 'after,' *avara* 'posterior,' *dakshina* 'south,' *uttara* 'north,' *apara* 'other,' and *adhara* 'inferior,' when they discriminate relative position, not when they are appellatives, are optionally *sarvanâma* before the affix *jas*.

These seven words have already been mentioned in the list of *sarvanâmas*. They are always *sarvanâmas*, when they have the meaning given to them in the list, *i. e.*, when they imply a relation in time and space, but when used in any other sense than the one which has been determined or fixed for them, they are not *sarvanâmas*, nor are they so when they are used as appellatives (संज्ञा). Thus, when the word *दक्षिण* means 'clever,' it is not a *sarvanâma*, as, *दक्षिणा इमे गायकाः* 'these clever minstrels,' similarly in *उत्तराः कुरुवः* 'the northern Kurus,' the word *उत्तर* is not a pronominal, for though it declares a direction, it is a proper noun.

When these seven words are *sarvanâma*, they are declined like *sarva*, except in the nominative plural, when they may be declined either as *sarvanâmas*, or as ordinary nouns. The option allowed in the case of these words is a *prâptavibhâsâ*.

That there is a 'specification' (*niyama*), or tacit implication, of a determinate point (*avadhi*), with reference to which something is to be described by the word itself, is what we mean when we say "that a relation in time or place (*avasthâ*) is implied." For example, if we wish to describe Benares as being southern (*dakshina*), to do this, we may specify some point, say one of the peaks of the *Himâlayâ* with reference to which Benares may be described as a "place to the southward." Again we in the north may thus speak of the people to the south of the *Vindhya* mountains, as being southern, not with reference to the inhabitants of Ceylon, but with reference (as every one here understands by tacit implication) to us ourselves, who live to the north the *Vindhya* range. Thus, (पूर्वे or पूर्वाः, अग्रे or अग्राः, परे or पराः) दक्षिणे or दक्षिणाः ; उत्तरे or उत्तराः ; अपरे or अपराः ; अधरे or अधराः.

स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, अज्ञाति-धन-
आख्यायाम्, (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वमित्येतच्छब्दरूपं जसि विभाषा सर्वनामसंज्ञं भवति न चेज् ज्ञाति धनयोः संज्ञारूपेण वर्त्तते ॥

35. The word *sva* 'own,' when it does not mean a kinsman or property is optionally *sarvanâma* before the affix *jas*.

The word *स्व* when it does not mean a *ज्ञाति* 'kinsman' or *धन* 'property' or 'wealth' is always a *sarvanâma*, in every number and case, as it has been

enumerated among the pronominals, except in the nominative plural where it is optionally so. Thus स्वे पुत्राः or स्वाः पुत्राः 'one's own sons,' स्वे गावः or रवा गावः 'one's own cows'.

But when it means 'kinsmen' or 'articles of property' स्वाः alone is the nom. pl. As, स्वा ज्ञातयो 'these kinsmen' प्रभूताः स्वाः 'much riches'.

अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तरम्-बहिर्योग-उपसंव्यानयोः (विभाषा, जसि, सर्वादीनि, सर्वनामानि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तरमित्येतच्छब्दरूपं विभाषा जसि सर्वनामसंज्ञं भवति बहिर्योग उपसंव्याने गम्यमाने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *अपुरीति च वक्तव्यम्* ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ *विभाषा प्रकरणे तीयस्य वा ङित्सु सर्वनामसंज्ञेत्युपसंव्यानम्* ॥

36. The word antara being always a sarvanāma, when meaning "outer" or "a lower garment," is optionally so before the affix jas.

The word अन्तर when it means बहिर्योग, viz., 'outer' is always sarvanāma, so also, when it means उपसंव्यान or 'a lower garment.' Thus, अन्तरे गृहाः or अन्तरा गृहाः 'outer houses, the residence of Chandal, and other low castes.' So अन्तरे or अन्तराः शटकाः 'the inner garments, such as petticoats worn under the upper garments.' The word अन्तर when used in the above sense is always sarvanāma, but in the nominative plural, it is optionally so. But, when it is not used in the above senses, it is never a sarvanāma, e. g., ग्रामयोरन्तरे वसति 'he lives between the two villages,' where the regular locative is अन्तरे. With this sūtra ends the section on sarvanāmas, which began with sūtra 26.

Vart :—The word अन्तर when qualifying the word पुरि 'a city,' is not to be treated as a sarvanāma, and is, therefore, declined like ordinary nouns. As, अन्तरायां पुरि वसति 'he lives out of the city.'

Vart :—The words formed by the affix तीय such as, द्वितीय and तृतीय, are optionally declined as sarvanāma before the case-affixes having an indicative ङ (ङित्), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, द्वितीयस्मै or द्वितीयाय, तृतीयाय or तृतीयस्मै.

स्वरादि निपातमव्ययम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वर-आदि, निपातम्,

अव्ययम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरादीनि शब्दरूपाणि निपाताश्चाव्ययसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

37. The words svar 'heaven,' &c., and the particles (I. 4. 56) are called indeclinables.

This defines avyaya or indeclinables. The words स्वर &c. must be found out from the Gapapāṭha; they are the following:—

स्वर 'heaven,' अन्तर 'midst,' प्रातर 'in the morning,' पुनर 'again,' सनुतर 'in concealment,' उच्चैस् 'high, aloft' नीचैस् 'low, down,' शनैस् 'slowly,' ऋधक्

'rightly, separately, aside, singly, particularly, truly,' ऋते 'except, without,' युगपत् 'at the same time, at once,' आरात् 'near, far from, directly,' पृथक् 'separately, apart,' ह्यस् 'yesterday,' श्वस् 'to-morrow,' दिवा 'by day,' रात्रौ 'by night or in the night,' सायम् 'at eve,' चिरम् 'long, long since, a long time,' मनाक् 'a little,' ईषत् 'slightly, a little,' शश्वत् 'ever,' जोषम् 'gladly,' तुष्णीम् 'silently,' बहिस् 'outside,' अविस् 'below, without, outside. समया 'near,' निकषा 'near, hard, close by,' स्वयम् 'of one's self,' वृथा 'in vain,' नक्तम् 'at night, by night,' नञ् 'negative particle, not,' हेतौ 'for this reason, by reason of,' इद्धा 'truly, really' हे ह 'exclamation,' अद्धा 'evidently, truly,' सावि 'half,' वत वत 'enclitic like, as Brāhmaṇavat, priestly,' सनत् सनात् 'perpetually,' उपधा 'division,' तिरस् 'crookedly, awry, over,' अन्तरा, अन्तरेण 'except, without' ड्योक, योक 'long,' कम् 'expletive particle,' शम् 'ease,' सना 'perpetually,' सहसा 'suddenly, hastily,' विना 'without,' नाना 'variously,' स्वस्ति 'greeting, peace,' स्वधा 'exclamation, oblation to Manes,' अजम् 'enough,' वषट् 'exclamation,' औषट्, वौषट् (interjection) 'oblation of butter,' अन्यत् 'again, moreover, otherwise,' अस्ति 'being present,' उपांशु 'in a low voice, secretly, privately,' क्षमा 'patience, pardon,' विहायसा 'aloft in the air,' शोषा 'at night or in the evening,' मृषा, मिथ्या 'falsely,' मुधा 'in vain,' पुरा 'formerly,' मिथो or नियस् 'mutually, together,' प्रायस् 'frequently, almost,' मुहुस् 'again, repeatedly' उवाहकम् or उवाहिका 'at the same time,' आर्यहजम् 'violently' अभीक्ष्णम् 'repeatedly,' साकम् or सार्धम् 'with' नमस्, 'reverence,' हिरुक् 'without,' धिक् 'fie!' अथ 'thus,' प्रतान् 'with fatigue,' प्रशान् 'alike,' प्रतान् 'widely,' मा, माङ् 'do not.'

So, also the words formed by the affixes ktvā tosun, kasun, by the kṛit affixes ending in स् or ए, ऐ, औ or औ, and the avyayībhāva compounds, are indeclinables. So, also the words formed by the affixes beginning with तसिन् (V. 3. 7) and ending with पाशाप् (V. 3. 47), by the affixes beginning with शस् (V. 4. 42) and ending with समासांतः (V. 4. 68), by the affixes कृत्वसुच्, सुच्, आच् and थाल् by the affixes having the sense of the affix च्वि, or by the affixes अन् or आन्, तसि or वति, न or नाञ् are also indeclinables.

The words called nipāta will be given under sūtras, I. 4, 56 to 61. Thus a word which changes not (न व्येति), remaining alike in the three genders and in all cases, and in all numbers, is what is termed an अव्यय or indeclinables.

तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धितः, च, असर्व-विभक्तिः (अव्ययम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितान्तः शब्दोऽसर्वविभक्तिरव्ययसंज्ञो भवति ॥

38. And the words ending in taddhita or secondary affixes (IV. 1. 76.) which are not declined in all the cases are also indeclinables.

This expands the definition of avyaya. There are three words in the sūtra taddhitaḥ, cha and asarva-vibhaktiḥ. Taddhitas or secondary affixes are certain affixes, by which nouns are derived from other nouns, such as, from मनु we have मानवः, sārva-vibhaktis are those words which take all case-terminations, asarva-vibhaktis are those which do not take all vibhaktis but some only. Thus the adverb यतः is declined in the singular ablative only, and does not take the dual and plural terminations.

Those derivative words which do not take all the case-terminations, but only some of them and which are formed by the addition of Taddhita affixes are indeclinables. As ततः 'thence,' तत्र 'there.' Both these words are formed by taddhita affixes from the pronoun तद् 'that,' the one is used in the ablative case only and the other in the locative. So also यतः, यत्र, तदा, यदा, सर्वदा, सदा &c.

कृत्मेजन्तः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्, म-एज्-अन्तः (अव्ययम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यो मकारान्न एजन्तश्च तदन्तं शब्दरूपमव्ययसंज्ञं भवति ॥

39. The words formed by those kṛit or primary affixes, (III. 1. 93) which end with म् or in ए, ओ, ऐ and औ are also indeclinables.

All affixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds:—1. Those by which nouns are derived directly from roots: Primary affixes. 2. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns: Secondary affixes. The former are called kṛit, the latter, taddhita.

Words formed by kṛit affixes which end in म् or ए, ओ, ऐ, or औ (connoted by the pratyahara एच्) are avyayas. Thus the affix तुम् (technically तुमुन्) and अम् (technically एमुञ्, III. 3. 10) are affixes which end in म्. The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinables. Thus दातुम् 'to give,' and स्मराम् 'remembering' are avyayas. So also words like जीवसे 'to live,' पिवध्वै 'to drink,' are also avyayas as they end in ए, &c.

Thus, in the following examples, the words within quotation are avyayas 'स्वाङ्गुकारं,' 'संपन्नकारं,' 'जवणकारं,' भुङ्क्ते, 'he eats first having made it relishing' (III. 4. 26). "वक्षे" रायः (वच् + से III. 4. 9=वक्षे); ता 'वामेधे,' रयनामुर्वाम् गव्युतिमेषां (इ + से=एधे. Rig Veda V. 66. 3). अस्मे शतं शरसो 'जीवसे' धा अस्मे वीराञ्छ्ववत इन्द्र शिभिन् (Rig Veda III. 36. 10). आपः पृणीत भेषजं वरुणं तन्वे मम। ज्योक् च सूर्ये 'दृशे,' (Rig Veda I. 25. 21, दृश् + केन् III. 4. 11 दृशे).

The word अन्त is used in this sūtra for the same purpose, as it was employed in sūtra 24, showing that these terminations must be 'aupadeśika,' and not derivative. Therefore the following words are not avyayas:—आधये (d. s.), आधेः (g. s.) चिकीर्षवे। चिकीर्षोः। कुम्भकारेभ्यः। नगरकारेभ्यः॥

क्तातोसुन्कसुनः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्ता, तोसुन्-कसुनः, (अव्ययम्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्ता तोसुन् कसुन् इत्येवमन्तं शब्दरूपमव्ययसंज्ञम्भवति ॥

40. The words ending with *ktva*, *toṣun* (III. 4. 16) and *kasun* are indeclinables.

As कृत्वा 'having done' उदेतोः 'having risen,' विसृपः 'having spread.' Thus in the following examples the words within quotation are indeclinables:—पुरासूर्ये 'स्योदेतो' राधेयः । पुरायस्साना 'मपाकत्तोः' । पुराकूरस्य 'विसृपो' विरप्सिन्नु हत्वाय वृथवीं जीवदानुम् ॥ (Yajur Veda. I. 28) य ऋते चिदभिभिषः पुरा जर्देभ्य 'आदृदः' । (Rig Ved. VIIIa. I. 12).

अव्ययीभावश्च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावः-च (अव्ययम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावसमासोऽव्ययसंज्ञो भवति ॥

41. (The compound called) *Avyayibhāva* (II. 1. 5) is also indeclinable.

The *Avyayibhava* or adverbial or indeclinable compounds are formed by joining an indeclinable particle with another word. The resulting compound, in which the indeclinable particle forms generally the first element, is again indeclinable, and generally ends, like adverbs, in the ordinary terminations of the nominative or accusative neuter. Thus अधिहरि 'upon Hari,' अनुरूपं 'after the form *i*, *e*., accordingly.'

The word च in the *sūtra* shows that here ends the definition of *avyaya*. The *avyayas*, therefore, are all those words which are comprised in the above five *sūtras*.

What is the object gained by making the *avyayibhāva* compounds *avyayas*? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinables, *viz.*, we can apply to them (1) the rule relating to the elision (लुक्) of the case-affixes and feminine affixes, *i.e.*, *sūtra* II. 4. 82 thus, in the following example, the words *upāgni* and *pratyagni* though qualifying the word *śalavāḥ*, do not take the gender and number of the latter, उपाग्नि प्रत्यग्नि शलाभाः पतन्ति (2) the rule relating to accent when an *avyaya* is compounded with the word *mukha*, (मुख स्वर), *i.e.*, *sūtras* VI. 2. 167 & 168. Thus, उपाग्नि मुखः, here, *sūtra* VI. 2. 167, required the final vowel to take the *udatta* accent, but the preceding word being an *avyaya*, *sūtra* VI. 2. 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent: (3) the rule relating to the change of *visarga* : into *स्*, this change being technically called उपचारः thus उपपयःकारः, उपपयःकामः, as compared with अयस्कारः. Here, the compound उपपयः being treated as *avyaya* *sūtra* VIII. 3. 46, applies and prevents the change of : into *स्*.

The four *sūtras* 38, 39, 40, and 41 have all been enunciated under the *svaḍigāṇa*. see *sūtra* 37. These *sūtras* properly, therefore, belong to the *gaṇa-paṭha*; their repetition here in the *Ashtādhyāyī* indicates that these rules are अनित्य or not of universal application, *viz.*, all rules relating to *avyayas* in general, do not apply to them. Thus II. 3. 69. declaring that the genitive case is not used along with an *avyaya* is not a rule of universal application, for we see

indeclinables like उदेतोः governed by the genitive case as, सूर्यस्योदेतोः ; or क्रूरस्य विसृपः .

शि सर्वनामस्थानम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि, सर्वनामस्थानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शि इत्येतत्सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञम्भवति ॥

42. The affix शि (VII. I. 20) is called sarvanāmasthāna.

This defines the word sarvanāmasthāna. The affix शि is the nominative and accusative plural termination of neuter nouns. It replaces the ordinary nominative and accusative plural affixes जस् and शस् used in every other gender. The श् of शि is servile, and the actual termination is इ; the peculiarity of the affix शि is that it lengthens the penultimate vowel (VI. 4. 8) and adds a न् (VII. I. 72). Thus the plural of फल 'fruit' is फलानि 'fruits.' So also कुण्डानि तिष्ठन्ति, and कुण्डानि पश्य. Here, there is no difference of form in the nominative and the accusative cases. So also मधूनि, त्रपूणि, जतूनि. The word sarvanāmasthāna occurs in sūtra VI. 4. 8.

सुडनपुंसकस्य ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुट्, अनपुंसकस्य, (सर्वनामस्थानम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ सुडिति पञ्च वचनानि सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञानि भवन्ति नपुंसकादन्यत्र ॥

43. The first five case affixes comprised in the pratyāhāra sut. (i. e., the three case-terminations of the nominative, and the singular and dual of the accusative) are called also sarvanāmasthāna; except the case-affixes of the neuter gender.

This defines further the word sarvanāmasthāna. The case-terminations in Sanskrit are 21 as arranged below :—

		Singular	Dual	Plural.
Nominative .	प्रथमा	सु (स्)	औ	जस् (अस्)
Accusative	द्वितीया	अम्	औद्	शस् (अस्)
Instrumental	तृतीया	टा (आ)	भ्याम्	भिस्
Dative	चतुर्थी	डे (ए)	„	भ्यस्
Ablative	पंचमी	ढसि (अस्)	„	„
Genitive	षष्ठी	ढस् (अस्)	औस्	आम्
Locative	सप्तमी	डि (इ)	„	सुप् (सु)

The above are the 21 vibhaktis, the ज् of जस्, the श् of शस्, the ट् of औद् &c. are indicative. All these vibhaktis are included in the pratyāhāra सुप् formed by taking the first vibhakti and the last letter of the last vibhakti. Similarly the first five terminations (सु, औ, जस्, अम् and औद्) are represented by सुट् and are called sarvanāmasthāna in the masculine and feminine genders. In the declension of nouns, it will be seen, that some nouns have two bases, one before these sarvanāmasthāna and the other before the rest.

Thus the word राजन् 'king' has the base राजान् before the सुद् vibhaktis, while in the remaining cases, the base is राज् and राज् as:—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
Nominative	राजा	राजानौ	राजानः
Accusative	राजानम्	राजानौ	राजानः
Instrumental	राजा	राजभ्यां	राजभिः

But in the neuter nouns there is no such difference.

न वेति विभाषा ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, वा, इति, विभाषा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेति प्रतिषेधो वेति विकल्पस्तयोः प्रतिषेधविकल्पयोर्विभाषेति संज्ञा भवति ॥

44. "May or may not" is called vibhâshâ or option.

This sūtra defines the word विभाषा. We had already had occasion to use this word in sūtras 28 and 32. Where there is a prohibition as well as an alternative course left open, it is called option or vibhâshâ. The commentators mention three kinds of vibhâshâ:— prâpta-vibhâshâ, aprâpta-vibhâshâ and prâptâprâpta-vibhâshâ. The first occurs where there is a general rule already given, and then follows the optional rule; the second belongs to that class where there is no such general rule, but there is an optional rule, the third is intermediate between the two.

Thus the root श्वि 'to swell,' by virtue of the rule विभाषा श्वे (V. 1. 30), forms its perfect tense, either by samprasâraṇa, or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either शुश्राव or शिश्राव.

इग्यणः संप्रसारणम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इक्, यणः, संप्रसारणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इग्यो यणः स्थाने भूतो भावी वा तस्य संप्रसारणमित्येषा संज्ञा भवति ॥

45. The ik vowels which replace the semi-vowels yan are called samprasâraṇa.

This defines the word samprasâraṇa. It is the name given to the change of semi-vowels into vowels. The pratyâhâra ik includes the four simple vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ॠ, and their corresponding semi-vowels य्, व्, र्, and ल् included in the pratyâhâra yan. The word samprasâraṇa is properly the name of the vowel which has replaced the semi-vowel. Thus the past participle of स्वप् 'to sleep,' is formed by adding the nishthâ affix क्त (see sūtra 26). So that we have स्वप् + त्त. But there is a rule (VI. 1. 15) by which there is samprasâraṇa of the व of स्वप् before the क्ति affixes, and we have the form सुप्तः 'slept.' Similarly from वड्-उदितः, यज्-इष्टम्, व्यध्-विद्धः, गह्-गृहीतम्-प्रह्-पृष्टम्. The term samprasâraṇa is also employed to designate the whole process of the change of the semi-vowels into vowels as in VI. 1. 13; VI. 4. 131.

आद्यन्तौ ट्कितौ ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-अन्तौ, ट्-क्-इतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिटिङ्गवति अन्तः किङ्गवति षष्ठी निर्दिष्टस्य ॥

46. Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory इ or क्, they precede or follow it accordingly.

This sūtra explains the special use of two of the indicatory letters इ and क्. Where the indicatory letter of an augment is इ that augment is to be placed before the word in the genitive case with regard to which it is enjoined; while a क्तिन् augment is to be added after the word exhibited in the 6th case with regard to which it is enjoined. Thus, there is a sūtra (VII. 2. 35) which says "ârdhadhâtuka affixes beginning with a consonant except च, have इद्". The question may arise where is this इद् to be added, in the beginning or the end or the middle of the ârdhadhâtuka affix? This sūtra answers the question. The indicatory इ shows, that it is to be placed before the ârdhadhâtuka affix. Thus the future termination स्यति, is an ârdhadhâtuka affix: when this is added to the root, it takes the augment इद्. Thus भू + इद् + स्यति = भविष्यति, 'he will be.' Similarly ज्विति 'he will cut'.

Similarly by sūtra VII. 3. 40. the root भी takes the augment घृक् in forming the causative. This having an indicatory क् is to be added after the word भी, as, भी + घृक् + णिच् + त = भीषयते 'he frightens.'

मिदचेऽन्त्यात्परः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिद्, अचः, अन्त्यात्, परः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच्चां सन्निविष्टानामन्त्यादचः परो मिद्वति ॥

47. The augment that has an indicatory न् comes after the last among the vowels, and becomes the final position of that which it augments.

This sūtra explains the use of the indicatory न्. The augments having an indicatory न्, technically called मिन् augments, are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called नुम्, in which न् and म् are इत्, and the actual augment is न्. When, therefore, it is said "let नुम् be added to the word," the letter न् is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of पयस् 'milk' is formed in the following way:—पयस् + नुम् + इ (VII. 1. 72) = पयान्सि (VI. 4. 8). Here न् is added between य and स् i. e. after the अ of य, which is the final vowel of the word: and before this न् the preceding short vowel is lengthened. Similarly मुच् + श + ति (III. 1. 77) = मुच् + नुम् + श + ति (VI. 1. 59) = मुञ्चति । Similarly विरुणद्धि ।

The word अचः is in the genitive case, having the force of nirdhâraṇa or specification; it has the force of the plural, though exhibited in the singular, being taken as representing the class. The meaning is 'among the vowels.' This sūtra is an exception to sūtras I. 1. 49 and III. 1. 2, by which an affix is added at the end of the word exhibited in the 6th case.

There is, however, an exception, in the case of the root मस्ज्, in

which the augment नुम् is added not after the last vowel अ of म, but between स् and ज्. The result of adding the augment नुम् between स् and ज् is, that sūtra VIII. 2. 29. applies, and the स् is elided. Thus मस्ज् + ता = मस्ज् + नुम् + ता (VII. 1. 60) = मस्नुज् + ता = मज्ज् + ता (VII. 2. 29) = मज्ज्ता "He will immerse". So also मग्नः 'immersed,' मग्नवान्, मज्ज्कुम्.

एच इग्रस्वादेशे ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एचः, इक्, ह्रस्व-आदेशे ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ एचो ह्रस्वादेशे कर्तव्यइगेव ह्रस्वो भवति नान्यः ॥

48, Of एच् vowels, इक् is the substitute, 'when short is to be substituted.

This sūtra points out the ह्रस्व substitutes of एच्. We know there are short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking the एच् vowels have no corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, एच् vowels are told to be shortened, this sūtra declares that the short vowels of ए and ऐ, ओ and औ, for the purposes of the rule, will be इ and उ respectively. Thus, I. 2. 47 declares:—"the short vowel is the substitute in the neuter of a crude form provided it end in a vowel." Therefore in compounding अति + रै, the ऐ must be shortened. Properly speaking ऐ has no short vowel corresponding to it, but by virtue of this sūtra, इ supplies the place of such a short vowel, and we have अतिरि 'extravagant' so नौ, अतिनु. 'disembarked or landed,' गो, उपगु 'near a cow.' All avyayibhāva compounds are neuter (II. 4. 18).

Why do we say 'of एच्'? Because the short of other vowels will not be इक्. Thus the short of आ is अ. As, अति + खट्वा = अतिखट्वः, अति + माला = अतिमालः ।

Why do we say 'when short is to be substituted?' Because when वृत्त or prolated vowels are to be substituted for एच्, the इक् will not be the substitute. As देवदत्त O Devadatta ! देवदत्त !

षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ षष्ठी, स्थाने-योगा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इह शास्त्रे या षष्ठी अनियतयोगा श्रूयते सा स्थानेयोगैव भवति नान्ययोगा स्थानेयोगनिमित्तभूते सति सा प्रतिपत्तव्या ॥

49. The force of the genitive case in a sūtra is that of the phrase "in the place of" when no special rules qualify the sense of the genitive.

This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting words used in the possessive case (sixth case) in the sūtras of Pāṇini. The genitive case or śāśṭhi denotes many sorts of relations in Sanskrit, such as causation, possession, relation in place, comparison, nearness, proximity, change, collection, component member, &c. So that when a word is in the genitive case in a sūtra generally, the doubt may arise in what sense that genitive is to be used. This aphorism

lays down the restrictive rule for the interpretation of such words. It says that the force of such genitive is to convey the meaning of 'in the place of.'

Thus in the sūtra 3, the word इक् is in the genitive case; the literal translation being :—"of ik there is guṇa and vṛiddhi." But "of" here means by virtue of the present rule of interpretation "in the place of." So that the sūtra means 'in the place of इक्.' Similarly in the sūtra immediately preceding this, *vis.* 48, we have the word एच् in the genitive case and the sūtra means 'of एच्.' Here also "of" means "in the place of."

Thus in sūtra हन्तेर्ज (VI. 4. 36) 'of hanti, there is ज' the word हन्ते, is the genitive of हन्ति; this genitive is used generally and its force is that of "in the place of." Therefore, ज displaces the verb हन् in ज्ञोद् or imperative mood, and we have जहि 'kill thou.'

This sūtra is also thus translated by Dr. Kielhorn :—Only that which is enunciated in a rule, *i. e.* that which is read in a rule or rather that which in the real language is like that which is read in a rule in a genitive case, or that which forms part of that which is enunciated in a genitive case, assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word स्थान 'place' *i. e.* is that in the place of which some thing else is substituted, but some thing suggested by the former does not assume that relation.

The word स्थान here is synonymous with प्रसङ्ग or 'occasion.' Thus in the sentence दर्भाणां स्थाने शरैः प्रस्तरितव्यम्, the word sthāne, means 'prasange' *i. e.* wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the śara instead. Similarly in sūtras अस्तेभूः (II. 4. 52), or भ्रुवो वचिः (II. 4. 53), the words 'asti,' and 'brû' are in the genitive case, and mean, 'wherever there arises occasion to use the verbs अस् or ब्रू use there the verbs भू or वच् instead respectively.' Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्, are the future, gerund, and passive participle respectively of अस्; so also, वक्ता, वक्तुम् and वक्तव्यम् are the same forms of ब्रू.

The word स्थानेयोगा is a bahuvrīhi compound of two words, not in apposition, (vyadhikaraṇa bahuvrīhi, see II. 2. 248 35), and it qualifies the word shashthī. The compound means स्थाने योगोऽस्या, 'that which assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word sthāna.' Consequently the seventh case-affix is not elided in this compound; on the analogy of compounds like कण्ठेकालः &c.

स्थानेऽन्तरतमः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थाने-अन्तरतमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थाने प्राप्यमाणानामन्तरतम आदेशो भवति सदृशतमः ॥

50. When a common term is obtained as a substitute, the likest of its significates to that in the place of which it comes, is the actual substitute.

This sūtra also lays down another rule of paribhāṣa. To explain this we must take an example. The guṇa of इ, उ, ऋ, and ॠ, is अ, ए, ओ. There is nothing to specify what letter is the guṇa of what. It might be said that ओ is the guṇa of इ because the definitions as laid down up to so far, do not say anywhere that ओ is not the guṇa of इ. So that when in a word like चि we are told 'let there be the guṇa of इ' we do not know what specific guṇa letter is to be substituted, whether it is अ, ए or ओ. To clear up this doubt, this sūtra declares that the likeliest of its significates is to be substituted. Now the nearest in place to इ is ए, both having their place of pronunciation, the palate. Similarly ओ is the guṇa of उ, because both are labials.

There are four sorts of proximity or nearness:—(1) nearness in place or स्थान (*i. e.* palate, throat &c.); (2) nearness in meaning or अर्थ (such as, singular terminations to be used after words used in the sense of singular); (3) nearness in quantity or प्रमाण (such as a short vowel to replace a short vowel, a long vowel, a long one); (4) nearness in quality or गुण (such as aspirates to replace aspirates, and sonants to replace sonants). Of all these approximates the first *vis.*, the nearness in the organ of utterance has preference, in the selection of proper substitute.

(1). Thus in applying rule VI. 1. 101, "when a homogeneous vowel follows ak, the corresponding long vowel is the substitute for both," we must have recourse to the present sūtra for finding the proper vowel. Thus—इण्ड + अमं = इण्डामं; here the substitution of the long आ, for the two short अ's, is an example of substitution by nearness of place, for both अ and आ are gutturals.

(2). A good example of substitution by the sense of the word is afforded by VI. 1. 63:—"The words पद्, दत्, नस् &c., are the substitutes when the case-affixes शस् (acc.-pl.) &c., follow." Here, we know the substitutes, but we do not know of what they are the substitutes. We apply the maxim of अर्थतः "that only can become a substitute which has the power to express the meaning of the original, *i. e.*, a substitute takes the place of that the meaning of which it is able to express." Thus we find that पद् is the substitute of पाद्, दत् of दन्त, नस् of नासिका, &c., which convey the same meaning and contain almost the same letters. Another example of this is afforded by VI. 3. 34, by which feminine words in a compound are changed into masculine. Thus वातण्डी (fem) + युवति = वातण्डययुवति: .

(3). An example of prosodial substitution (प्रमाणतः) is afforded by rule VIII. 2. 80, "उ is the substitute of what comes after the इ of अइस् not ending in स् and in the room of इ there is उ." Thus अम + स्मै = अम् + अस्मै = अमुष्मै; अम + भ्याम् = अमा + भ्याम् (VII. 3. 102) = अम् + ऊभ्याम् = अम्भ्याम्. Here, short उ replaces the short अ, and the long ऊ replaces the long आ.

(4). An illustration of qualitative substitution is afforded by VII. 3. 52, "a letter of the guttural class is substituted for च् and ज्ञ् when an affix having an indicatory घ् follows." Applying the rule of गुणतः we find that क् which is an alpapráṇa and aghosha letter replaces च् having the same quality; while ज्ञ् which is ghosha, and alpapráṇa is replaced by the letter ग् possessing similar quality. Thus पच् + घञ् (III. 3. 18) = पाकः; खञ् + घञ् = ख्यागः; रञ्ज् + घञ् = रागः ॥

Though the anuvṛitti of the word sthāna was understood in this sūtra from the last, the repetition of this word indicates the existence of the following paribhāṣā :—

Wherever there exist several kinds of proximity between that for which something else shall be substituted, and its possible substitutes, there the proximity as to the organ of speech is weightier than the rest, *i. e.*, there that only is substituted which is nearest as regards the organs of speech with which both are uttered.

Thus in finding the guṇa substitutes of इ and उ out of the three guṇa letters अ, ए and ओ, we find that अ is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodial measure, *i. e.*, अ and इ and उ have all one mātṛā; while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get ए and ओ; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first; as, चेता, स्तोता.

Why do we use the word "likest" in the superlative degree? Where there are many sort of proximities, the likest must be taken. Thus वाक् + हसति = वाग्मसति. Here, by VIII. 4. 62, "after a letter of स्य् class, ह् is changed into a letter homogeneous with the preceding," ह् must be changed into a letter of the class क्. Out of the five letters of this class, ख् and ह् are both aspirates, but ख् is hard, and ह् is soft; so ग् and ह् are both soft, but ग् is unaspirate, and ह् is aspirate, therefore these must be rejected; the only letter which has the nearest approach to ह्, is घ्, which is both soft and aspirate. Similarly in त्रिष्टुब्भसति, the ह् has been changed into भ्.

उरण् रपरः ॥ ५१ ॥ यदानि ॥ उः, अण्, र-परः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उः (ऋकारस्य) स्थानेऽण् प्रसज्यमान एव रपरो वेदितव्यः ॥

51. When a letter of अण् pratyāhāra comes as a substitute for ऋ it is always followed by a र.

This sūtra consists of three words *viz.*, उः which is the genitive singular of ऋ and means literally 'of ऋ' or 'in the place of ऋ'; the second word is अण्, a pratyāhāra denoting अ, इ and उ long and short; the third word is रपरः which qualifies अण् and means 'having a र after.'

This sūtra is useful in fixing the proper substitutes of ऋ. Thus, there

are only three guṇa vowels अ, ए and ओ. Of these what is the proper guṇa for कृ? By the application of the rule of 'nearness of place' we see that अ is the nearest substitute. So that अ is the guṇa of कृ; and further by this rule, this अ must have a र after it. Thus though technically speaking अ is the guṇa of कृ, the actual substitute is अर. Thus कृ + ता = कर्त्ता; similarly हर्ता.

So also when कृ is replaced by इ as by sūtra VII. 1. 100, this substitute इ must be followed by a र. As कृ + अति = कि + र + अति = किरति 'he scatters;' similarly गिरति 'he swallows.'

So also when कृ is replaced by उ, as by sūtra IV. 1. 115 this उ must be followed by a र. As द्वि + मातृ + अण् = द्विमातुरः 'son of two mothers'

This र is to be added only when कृ is replaced by अ, इ or उ (अण्) vowels, and not when it is replaced by any other letter.

Thus by IV. 1. 97, "the कृ of the word सुधातृ is replaced by अक् (technically अकङ्) when the affix इञ् is added." Thus, सुधातृ + इञ् = सुधातृ + अक् + इ = सौधातकिः, 'a descendant of Sudhātṛi' Here the substitute of कृ, that is to say, the syllable अक् is not followed by र.

The र in the text has been taken by some to be a pratyāhāra formed by the letter र and अ of जण्; and thus it includes the letters र and ल. In that case the sūtra would mean that अण् substitutes of कृ and ल are always followed by र and ल respectively. Thus guṇa of ri = ar, of li = al.

अलोन्त्यस्य ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलः, अन्त्यस्य, (आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टस्य य उच्यते आदेशः सोन्त्यस्यालः स्थाने वेदितव्यः ॥

52. The substitute takes the place of only the final letter (of that which is denoted by a term exhibited in the genitive or sixth case).

The rule of substitution by nearness of place applies to the last letter of the word which is exhibited in the genitive case and not to all its letters. Thus by sūtra VII. 2. 102, it is declared त्यहादीनामः "in the place of त्यद् &c., there is अ." It does not mean that the whole word त्यद्, is replaced by अ; though at first sight it may appear to mean so; but it means, by virtue of the present explanatory sūtra, that the last letter of त्यद्, namely द् is to be replaced by अ.

So also in sūtra I. 2. 50 इङ्गोण्याः the short इ replaces only the final letter of गोणी and not the whole word, as पञ्चगोणिः 'purchased for five goṇis.' दशगोणिः

डिच्च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ड्-इत्, च, (आदेशः, अलः, अन्त्यस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डिच्च य आदेशः सोऽनिकालपि अलोन्त्यस्य भवति ॥

53. And the substitute which has an indicatory ङ (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

This sūtra is an exception by anticipation to sūtra 55. By that all substitutes, consisting of more than one letter, replace the whole word.

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of माह and पिह there is a rule (VI. 3. 25) by which it is declared:—‘In the place of words ending in क् there is the substitution of आनङ् in forming dvandvas.’ Now the substitute आनङ् is a ङित् substitute, and therefore it applies to the *last* letter of the word and not to the *whole* word, *vis*, the क् of माह is only changed into आ and not the whole word; and we have the compound मातापितरौ, so also होतापोतारौ.

There is an exception, however, in the case of the substitute तत्तङ् (VII. 1. 35) which, though it has an indicatory ङ, yet replaces the whole expressions तु and हि and not only their finals. As जीवतात् ‘may he live, or may you live’; instead of जीवतु ‘may he live,’ or जीव ‘live thou.’

आदेः परस्य ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदेः, परस्य, (अलः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्य कार्यं शिष्यमाणादिरजः प्रत्येतव्यम् ॥

54. That which is enjoined to come in the room of what follows is to be understood as coming in the room only of the first letter thereof.

When any operation is to be made in a word *following another*, such operation is to be made in the *initial* letter of such subsequent word. To give an illustration:—there is a rule (VI. 3. 97) by which it is declared: “In the place of अप् used after the words द्वि and अन्तर् and the particles called उपसर्ग there is ई.” This rule may be stated in other words as:—‘In the place of अप् there is ई when अप् follows द्वि or अन्तर्.’ Now it is clear that ई is not to replace all the letters of अप् but only one. By sūtra 52 that letter would have been the last letter of अप्, but this sūtra makes an exception, namely, where an operation is directed to be made in a word, simply by reason of its being placed *after* another word; such change is to be made in the *beginning* of such second word. Therefore, the ई replaces the अ of अप् and we have द्वि + अप् = द्वीपं (the final अ is added by V. 4. 74) ‘an island,’ अन्तरीपं ‘promontory.’ So also in the sūtra ईवासः (VII. 2. 83) ‘long ई is the substitute of अन when the latter comes after the root आस्.’ Thus आस् + अन = आस् + ईन = आसीनः. Here also the ई replaces the initial अ of अन.

How can we find when an operation is to be performed on a subsequent word? When the previous word is exhibited in the 5th or ablative case, see sūtra 67.

अनेकाल् शित्सर्वस्य ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनेक-अल्, शित्, सर्वस्य,
(आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनेकाल् य आदेशः शित् सर्वस्य षष्ठी निदिष्टस्य स्थाने भवति ॥

55. A substitute consisting of more than one letter, and a substitute having an indicatory श take the place of the whole of the original expression exhibited in the sixth case.

This sūtra is an exception to sūtra 52 by which it was declared that an âdeśa or substitute replaces only the last letter. This sūtra on the contrary enjoins that an âdeśa consisting of more than one letter replaces the whole expression in the genitive case, and not only its last letter. Even where an âdeśa consists of a single letter, but if it has a श् as its indicatory letter, it replaces the whole word.

Thus, there is a sūtra नृवो वच् (II. 4. 53) which means 'in the place of नृ let there be वच्.' Here the âdeśa वच् consists of three letters (more than one), and therefore, it replaces the whole word नृ and not only the last letter ऊ. That is to say in forming certain tenses the verb नृ is replaced by वच्. Thus the future tense of नृ is वक्ता 'he will speak.'

So also there is a sūtra (V. 3. 3.) by which it is declared:—"In the place of इद्म् there is इष्." Here the âdeśa इ is an âdeśa having the श् for its indicatory letter, and though it consists of only one letter, it replaces the whole word इद्म्, and not only its last letter म्.

Of course, it must be understood that the phrase 'consisting of more than one letter' applies to the *actual* substitute, and not to the substitute with its indicatory letters, the latter being for the purposes of counting regarded as mere surplusages and not to be taken into account. To see whether an affix is अनेकाल् or not, the indicatory letters must not be counted; and the affix must be stripped of all its इत् letters.

स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थानि-वत्, आदेशः,
अनल्विधौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानिवदादेशो भवति स्थान्याश्रयेषु कार्येष्वनलाश्रयेषु स्थान्याश्रयाणि कार्याणि वर्जयित्वा ॥

56. A substitute (âdeśa) is like the former occupant (sthāni) but not in the case of a rule the occasion for the operation of which is furnished by the letters of the original term.

This is an explanatory sūtra, or this may be considered also as an âdeśa sūtra, in as much as it declares that the operations to be performed

on or by the original, may be similarly performed on or by the substitute, but with certain restrictions. The words of this sūtra require some detailed exposition. Sthāni is the word or the portion of a word which is replaced. Aḍeśa is the expression which replaces something. Al-vidhi is a compound of 'al' meaning alphabet, or letters in general, and 'vidhi' rule i. e. any rule applicable to letters.

There is an exception, however, to this rule in the case of rules, the occasion for the operation of which, is furnished by the letters of the original term. That is to say for the purposes of orthographic rules, an aḍeśa is not like the sthāni. A rule which is applicable to the *letters* of the sthāni, need not be applicable to the letters of the aḍeśa.

Thus the gerund of verbs is generally formed by adding the affix *त्वा* e. g. गृह् + त्वा. Now VII. 2. 35. prescribes the insertion of an intermediate इद् before ārdhadhātuka affixes beginning with any consonant except य. This rule is clearly an al-vidhi, because the occasion for its application is conditional on the letters of the affix. The affix *त्वा* begins with त् and is an ārdhadhātuka affix and fulfils all the conditions of the rule. Therefore, we have गृह् + इ + त्वा = गृहीत्वा (VI. 1. 16; VII. 2. 37).

Now in compound verbs the affix *त्वा* is replaced by य (tech. व्यप्). Thus संगृह् + य. This aḍeśa य which takes the place of *त्वा* has all the functions of *त्वा* viz. it has the power of making gerunds; it makes the word an indeclinable (see rule 41 ante), as the affix *त्वा* does. But the affix *त्वा* takes an intermediate इ; should, therefore, the aḍeśa य take also the इ or not? Now the augment इ which *त्वा* takes is by virtue of VII. 2. 35, because it begins with a consonant of वल् pratyāhāra; while य is the only consonant which is not included in this pratyāhāra. Therefore, for the purposes of taking इ by rule VII. 2. 35. the aḍeśa य is not like *त्वा*; since that rule is one which has its scope when there are certain initial letters; or an al-vidhi. Therefore, we have संगृह्य.

Substitutes replace either a धातु 'root,' or an अङ्ग 'base,' or a kṛit affix 'primary affix,' or a taddhita affix 'secondary affix,' or an avyaya 'indeclinable,' or a सुप् affix 'case affix,' or a तिङ् affix 'conjugational affix,' or lastly the full word or pada.

The substitute of a dhātu becomes like a dhātu. Thus sūtras II. 4: 52 and 53 declare:—'भू is the substitute of the root अस्, and वच् of the root झू when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows.' Here the substitutes भू and वच् are treated as dhātu, and as such get the affixes लब्ध &c. by III. 1. 96, &c. Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्; वक्ता, वक्तुम्, वक्तव्यम्.

The substitute of an anga becomes like an anga. Thus VII. 2. 103 declares:—'क is the substitute of the base किम् when a case-affix follows.'

Here, क gets the designation 'base' and so rules applicable to base, are applied to क also. Thus in केन, काम्याम्, कैः &c., we have इन, the lengthening of the vowel, and ऐस् substituted by VII. 1. 12, and VII. 3. 102, and VII. 1. 9.

The substitute of a kṛit affix becomes like a kṛit affix. Thus VII. 1. 37 declares:—'ल्यप् is the substitute of the kṛit affix क्त्वा when the verb is a compound, the first member of which is an indeclinable, but not नञ्.' Here, ल्यप् is also called a kṛit affix, and as such, sūtra VI. 1. 71 applies, and तुक् is added. As प्रकु + ल्यप् = प्रकु + त् + य = प्रकृत्य; similarly प्रहृत्य &c.

The substitute of a taddhita affix is like a taddhita. Thus VII. 3. 50 declares:—'इक् is the substitute of the affix ठ' as वधि + ठक् (IV. 2. 18) = वाधिकम्, here, इक् being treated as a taddhita, sūtra I. 2. 56 applies and the word formed by it, gets the name of prâtipadika, and is so declined.

The substitute of an avyaya is like an avyaya. As, प्रस्तुत्य; प्रहृत्य. The affix क्त्वा makes avyayas (I. 1. 40), its substitute ल्यप् will also make the word an avyaya, and as such sūtra II. 4. 82 applies, and the case-affixes are elided after these words.

The substitute of sup-affixes becomes like sup. Thus VII. 1. 13 declares:—'य is the substitute of the sup-affix ङे after an inflective base ending in short अ.' Here, य is treated as a sup-affix, and therefore sūtra VII. 3. 102 applies, and there is lengthening of the vowel, as, वृक्षाय; मृक्षाय.

The substitute of tiñ becomes like tiñ. Thus III. 4. 101 declares:—'ताम्, तम्, त and अम् are substituted for तस्, यस्, थ, and निप् when tense-affixes having indicatory ह् follow.' Here the substitutes ताम् &c., also make the words ending in them pada by rule I. 4. 14 as, अकुरुतम्; अकुरुत &c.

The substitute of a pada is like a pada. Thus VIII. 1. 21 declares:—'वस् is the substitute of युष्मान्, युष्मभ्यम्, युष्माकम्, and नस् of अस्मान्, अस्मभ्यम् and अस्माकम्.' Here, वस् and नस् are treated as pada, and the final स् is changed into visarga, as वः, नः.

Why have we used the word वत् in the sūtra? Without it the aphorism would have been स्थान्यादेशोऽनलिवधौ, and this being a chapter treating of definitions, the meaning would have been, 'an âdeśa is called sthâni.' This certainly is not intended, for had it been so, then all operations would be performed by or on the substitute, but none by the original. But this is not so. Thus rule I. 3. 28, says 'the root हन् preceded by आ is âtmanepadî.' वध the substitute of हन् will be âtmanepadî, as आवधिष्ट; but हन् also will be so in its proper sphere, as, आहत.

The word âdeśa is used in the sūtra to indicate, that the rule applies even to partial substitutions: as changing the इ of ति into उ (III. 4. 86) in the Imperative e. g. पचतु.

The word al-vidhi is used in order to indicate that the substitutes of तिप्,

पयिन्, स्वद् &c., such as the change of द् into औ (VII. 1. 84), न् into आ (VII. 1. 85), इ into अ (VII. 2. 102), are not to be treated like the original : as औः, पन्थाः, सः. Had these substitutes been treated like the original, rule VI. 1. 68 would apply, and the case-affix सु would have been elided.

अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, परस्मिन्, पूर्व-विधौ, (स्यानिवत् आदेशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजादेशः परनिमित्तकः पूर्वविधौ कर्तव्ये स्यानिवद्भवति ॥

57. A substitute in the room of a vowel caused by something that follows, should be regarded as that whose place it takes when a rule would else take effect on what stands anterior to the original vowel.

This sūtra consists of three words:—अचः genitive of the pratyāhāra अच् meaning 'of a vowel,' and means an ādeśa which takes the place of a vowel. The words ādeśa and sthānivat are understood and are to be supplied from the preceding sūtra. The second word is 'parasmin' loc. sing. of 'para' meaning 'in the subsequent.' The locative has the force of 'on account of or by reason of.' The third word is pūrva-vidhau loc. sing. of pūrva-vidhi meaning 'a rule applicable to a preceding thing.' The whole sūtra thus comes to mean that an ādeśa which replaces a vowel, becomes sthānivat (like vowel), provided that the substitution has been occasioned on account of something following and when a rule is to be applied to anything preceding such an ādeśa.

Thus there is an affix called णिच् the actual affix being इ; the other letters ण् and च् being इत्. The peculiarity of every affix having an indicatory ण् is to cause the vṛddhi of the penultimate अ; (sūtra VII. 2. 116) as पच + इ = पाचि. Now in forming the denominative verb from the word पद्, we have to add the affix णिच्. Thus पद् + इ; but before णिच्, the इ of पद् is substituted by a 'lopa' or blank, and this blank takes the place of the vowel इ of पद् and becomes sthānivat by force of the present sūtra. The result of becoming sthānivat is that though the अ of पद् is really a penultimate and ought to be vṛddhied before 'णिच्' it is not so, the lopa-substitute not allowing the अ to be regarded as penultimate, and thus we have the form पटि the present tense third person singular of which is पटयति. The equation being पद् + ० + इ, the zero preventing the अ of पद् from becoming penultimate. So also in the word अवधीत्, the aorist (लृङ्) of वध. Thus अ + वध + ईत् = अ + वध् + ० + ईत्. Here, the अ of वध is elided by VI. 4. 48. (when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows there is elision of the short अ of that which ends in short अ;) this elision is thus caused by something which follows (parasmin.) Now there is a rule (VII. 2. 7.) which declares 'vṛddhi is optionally the substitute of a laghu अ preceded by a consonant when सिच् (aorist) follows.' However in the present case the zero is consi-

dered as sthānivat, and prevents the application of sūtra VII. 2. 7; otherwise we get the form अवाधीन् which is inadmissible.

Similarly बहुखट्वा + कप् = बहुखट्वाकः। Here, the short अ is the substitute of the long आ of खट्वा by VII. 4. 15; because of the subsequent (parasmin) affix 'kap'. However, the word बहुखट्वा will not be considered as a word ending in a short vowel, for the purposes of the application of rule VI. 2. 174, (the udātta accent falls on the last vowel but one of a word that ends in a short vowel and is the last member of a bahuvrīhi compound followed by the affix kap). On the contrary the short अ is regarded as sthānivat to long आ. Thus बहुखट्वाकः.

It is needless to say that this rule applies only to vowel âdeśa, therefore, where an âdeśa replaces a consonant, the previous sūtra 56 has its scope and prevents its being sthānivat. Thus there is a kṛit affix called ल्यप्, the real suffix being य, the ल् and प् being diacritical letters. Before this य the verb आगम् (to come) loses its म्, and lopa or blank takes the place of म्. Here then lopa or blank is an âdeśa and म् a consonant is sthāni.

Now there is a rule which says (VI. 1. 71), that before kṛit affixes having an indicatory प्, the letter त is added after verbs ending in light vowels. Now in आगम्, when म् is omitted, the अ of ग becomes final; and therefore a त् is required before य (which is a पित् affix). Thus we have आगत्य.

But had lopa or blank become sthānivat to म् then the अ of ग् would have remained penultimate as it was when it was आगम्; and no त् would have been required. But it is not so.

Similarly in forming the word प्रमः. Thus प्रच्छ् + नङ् (III. 3. 90) प्रश् + नङ् (VI. 4. 19). Here, श् is substituted for छ्; this will not be sthānivat to छ्; though this substitute is caused by something that follows (parasmin). Were it to be sthānivat, there would come the augment तुक् (त्) by VI. 1. 73.

Similarly अक्राष्टाम्, the aorist of कृष्. Thus अ + कृष् + सिच् + ताम् = अ + कृष् + ० + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26). Here the स् is elided on account of what follows, but still the lopa substitute here is not sthānivat for the purposes of VIII. 2. 41. Had it been sthānivat, स् of कृष् would be changed into क्.

Moreover this rule applies where a vowel is changed on account of something which follows (parasmin). Therefore, where the change has not been occasioned by anything subsequent, the âdeśa (though of a vowel) is not sthānivat. Thus the words युवजानिः and बधुदीजानिः.

The word युवजानि is a bahuvrīhi compound of युवति and जाया, meaning 'he who has a young wife.' In forming this compound, the आ of या is replaced by नि (tech. निङ्) by sūtra V. 4. 134. This नि will not be sthānivat to आ, as it is not caused by anything which follows. Had it been regarded as sthānivat, the य् could not be elided by VI. 1. 66 ('there is elision of व

and य when any consonant except ह् or झ् follows'). Thus, युवजाया + नि = युवजाय् + ० + नि (V. 4. 134) = युवजानि: (VI. 1. 66).

Similarly the word वैद्यान्नपद्यः, 'a descendant of व्यान्नपाद्' also illustrates this rule. व्यान्नपाद् is a bahuvrīhi compound of व्यान्न and पाद्, meaning 'whose foot is like that of a tiger.' Now the final अ of 'pāda' is elided in such compounds by V. 4. 138. This lopa substitution is not caused by anything that follows, therefore, this lopādeśa will not be sthānivat for the purposes of the application of sūtra VI. 4. 130 ('पद् is the substitute of the word पाद् when part of an inflective base ending in the word पाद् and entitled to the name of Bha. I. 4. 18'). Therefore, व्यान्नपाद् + यञ् (IV. 1. 105) = वैद्यान्नपद्यः. Had the lopa been like the original, there could not have been the substitution of 'pad' for 'pād.'

Similarly the word आसीद्ये, 1st per. sing. atm. present tense of the root शीधी 'to shine.' Thus आसीधी + इद् = आसीधी + ए (III. 4. 79). This change of इ into ए is not caused by anything that follows, hence ए is not sthānivat to इ, for the purposes of the application of rule VII. 4. 53 ('the finals of dīdhī and vevī are elided when an affix beginning with य or इ follows'). Had ए been sthānivat, the final ई would have been elided.

Similarly an ādeśa though of a vowel, and even though occasioned by a subsequent something, would not be sthānivat, if there is not the application of a rule to something that precedes the ādeśa (pūrva-vidhi). If the rule is to be applied to something subsequent to the ādeśa; it will be applied to the exact ādeśa without considering what was the letter which the ādeśa had replaced. It is only when a rule is to be applied to a prior object, that it becomes important to consider whether the ādeśa is sthānivat or not. Thus the vocative case of गौ is हे गौः। The vocative is formed from the nominative case (II. 3. 49). The nominative of गौ is formed by changing औ into औ and adding the case termination स्. Here the ādeśa औ, replaces औ, on account of the subsequent termination स्. Now there is a rule applicable to vocative cases which declares that the final स् is dropped after short vowels and ए and औ (VI. 1. 69).

Now is the औ of गौ to be regarded as sthānivat to औ, which it replaces; for the purposes of this rule of elision of finals? If so, the consequence would be that the final स् would have to be dropped in the vocative. But it is not so. Because the rule VI. 1. 69, which ordains the dropping of स् after short vowels and ए and औ applies to a letter, which is not anterior to the ādeśa औ, but to one which follows it, and consequently there being no pūrva-vidhi here, the final स् is retained and we have the vocative गौः।

Similarly the word ब्राह्मणीयाः, 'the pupils of Bābhṛavya.' The word ब्राह्मण्य is derived from बभ्रु in this wise. बभ्रु + यञ् (IV. 1. 105) = ब्राह्मण्यः।

+ यञ् (VI. 4. 146 and VII. 2. 117) = बाभ्र + यञ् (VI. 1. 79) = बाभ्रयः. From this is formed बाभ्रवीय in this wise:—बाभ्रय + छ (IV. 2. 114) = बाभ्रय + ईय (VII. 1. 2) = बाभ्रय + ईय (VI. 4. 148) = बाभ्र + ईय (VI. 4. 150). Here, had the substitute अञ् which replaced the ओ of बाभ्रो, been sthānivat to ओ, rule VI. 4. 150 ('there is elision of the य of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant, when long ई follows'), could not have applied. But this substitute अञ् is not sthānivat for the purposes of rule VI. 4. 150, inasmuch as that rule does not apply to any letter that *precedes* the substitute अञ्, but to the very letters of the substitute itself.

Similarly the word नैधेयः, which is evolved from the root धा, in this wise नि + धा + कि (III. 3. 92) = नि + धा + इ (I. 3. 8) = नि + धृ + ० + इ (VI. 4. 64) = निधि. Let us then form a secondary derivative from the word निधि applying ढक् (IV. 1. 122), the whole of which affix is replaced by एय (VII. 1. 2). Thus निधि + एय = निधृ + एय (VI. 4. 148) = नैधेय (VII. 2. 118). Here, the lopa substituted for the आ of धा by VI. 4. 64 is not sthānivat for the purposes of the application of IV. 1. 122 by which the affix ढक् is added. Rule V. 1. 122 says, 'ḍhak is added to a word ending in इ, provided it be a word containing *two* vowels.' Now निधि ends in इ and contains two vowels; but if the lopa were sthānivat to the elided आ, then it would be a word of *three* syllables. That is however not so; because the rule enjoining the affix ढक् is not applicable to anything *preceding* the lopādeśa, but is enjoined with regard to something after this substitution.

न पदान्तद्विर्वचनवरेयलोपस्वरसवर्णानुस्वारदीर्घजश्चविधिषु ॥५८॥

पदानि ॥ न, पदान्त-द्विर्वचन-वरे-यलोप-स्वर-सवर्ण-अनुस्वार-दीर्घ-जश्-च-विधिषु, (स्थानिवत्)

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वोणातिप्रसक्तः स्थानिवद्भाव एतेषु विधिषु प्रतिषिध्यते ॥

58. Not so, in rules relating to the finals of words, to the doubling of letters, to the affixing of varach, to the elision of ya, to accent, to homogeneous letters, to anusvāra, to the lengthening of vowels, and to the substitution of jaś and char letters.

This sūtra lays down an exception to the previous sūtra, by which it was ruled that an ādeśa which replaced a vowel becomes sthānivat under certain conditions. This sūtra says that a vowel ādeśa is not sthānivat under the following circumstances.

1. पदान्तविधिः—'A rule relating to the last letter of a word.' Thus the अ of अस् is elided before the terminations of dual and plural numbers (VI. 4. 111). Thus we have अस्ति 'he is,' स्तः 'they two are,' सन्ति 'they are.' Now in the technical phraseology of Sanskrit grammarians, the अ of स्तः and सन्ति is

replaced by an âdeśa called लोप्, the peculiarity of which is that the whole of it vanishes. So that before the word स्तः there is this âdeśa existing, though it is in an invisible form. This invisible âdeśa will be sthānivat, as it replaces a vowel, by reason of something that follows, i. e. the affixes तः and अन्ति being डित् (I. 2, 4); and it will have all the powers of अ by the last sūtra, in the absence of any rule to the contrary. Therefore, in the sentence कौ स्तः 'who two are' the final औ of कौ and the invisible अ of स्तः ought to coalesce by rules of sandhi into आव (VI. 1. 78). But this incongruity is prevented by the present sūtra, by which the change of औ into आव् is a पदान्त विधि or a rule relating to the finals of a word, therefore, we have कौ स्तः। So also in तानि सन्ति, rule VI. 1. 77 is not applied.

2. द्विवचनविधि: 'a rule relating to the doubling of letters.' In the sandhi of इधि + अन्न we have इधन्न. Here इ is changed into य्. If this य् were sthānivat to इ, then the rule by which धृ could be doubled before य् would be inapplicable. But य् is not equivalent to इ, though its substitute; and we have the doubling of धृ and get the form इधन्न. Therefore, in rules relating to the doubling of letters the âdeśa is not equivalent to the sthānī.

3. वरेविधि: 'a rule relating to the affix वरच्.' The affix वरच् is a kṛit affix which is added to certain roots to form nouns of agency; thus from ईश् 'to rule' we have ईश्वर: 'ruler.' So from the intensive verb यायाय we have यायावर: 'a vagrant.' It is formed in this wise यायाय + वर (III. 2. 176) = यायाय् + ० + वर (VI. 4. 48). Here the अ of य has been dropped and replaced by lopa, on account of its being followed by the ârdhadhâtuka affix वरच्. The next step is to drop the य् by rule VI. 1. 66 which declares that the letters व् and य् are dropped before affixes beginning with any consonant except य् i. e., beginning with consonants of वल् pratyâhâra. Thus याया + ० + वर. Now there is a rule (VI. 4. 64) which declares that the final long आ of a base is dropped before ârdhadhâtuka affixes having an initial vowel. Here therefore, if the âdeśa 'lopa,' which replaced the vowel अ, be considered as sthānivat, and वर be considered as an affix having a latent initial vowel, then the आ of याया requires to be dropped. But this sūtra prevents this and we have the form यायावर; as, अप्सु यायावरः प्रवपेत पिण्डान् ॥

4. यलोपविधि: 'a rule relating to the dropping of ya.' Thus there is a verb कण्डूय 'to scratch'. In forming an abstract noun from it, the affix ति (tech. क्तिच्) is added. Thus कण्डूय + ति = कण्डूय् + ० + ति, the अ of य being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now there is a rule (VI. 1. 66) already mentioned above which requires the elision of य् before consonantal affixes. Now if the lopa-substitute be considered as sthānivat to अ, then the affix ति is not an affix having an initial consonant and the rule, which requires the dropping of य्, would not apply. The present sūtra, however, provides for this, and we have the form कण्डूति: 'scratching.'

5. स्वरविधि: 'a rule relating to accent.' There is a sūtra (VI. 1. 193) which says that when a word is formed by an affix that has an indicatory लृ, the vowel that immediately precedes such an affix has the udātta accent. Now ण्वुल् is an affix that has an indicatory लृ, the real affix being अक (VII. 1. 1.). It is an affix used in forming nouns of agency. Adding this affix to the desiderative verb चिकीर्षि 'desirous of doing' we have:—चिकीर्षि + अक = चिकीर्षि + ० + अक, the अ being dropped by VI. 4. 48. Now if the zero be considered as sthānivat, then the accent must fall on this latent अ but it is not so. The accent falls on the ई of की; and we have चिकीर्षकः, so also जिहीर्षकः ॥

6. सवर्णविधि: 'a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters.' To explain this, let us form the second person singular of the verb शिष् in the imperative mood. The affix हि is the sign of the second person imperative singular; and the verb शिष् belongs to the seventh-class of verbs called Rudhādi. This class of verbs take the vikaraṇa अम् (III. 1. 78) the अ and न् being indicatory the real affix is न. This न is inserted between the radical vowel and the final consonant (I. 1. 47). Therefore we have the following equation:—शिष् + इनम् + हि = शि + न + ष् + हि = शि + न् + ० + ष् + हि. The अ of न is dropped by VI. 4. 111, which declares that the अ of इनम् is dropped before those sārvaadhātuka terminations which are कित् or कित्. By I. 2. 4 all sārvaadhātuka terminations which have not got an indicatory ष् are considered as कित्. The affix हि therefore is a कित् sārvaadhātuka affix, and by rule III. 4. 87, हि is to be regarded as अपित्, not having an indicatory ष्. The next stage is:—शि + न् + ० + ष् + धि; the हि being changed into धि by rule (VI. 4. 101) which says that 'हि is changed into धि, when it follows a root which ends in a consonant of झल् pratyāhāra.' here ष् and ध् are changed by general rules of sandhi into झ् and ढ् and we have शि + न् + ० + झ् + ढि (VIII. 4. 41). Then there is a rule (VIII. 3. 24), which says that in the body of a word the न् is changed into anusvāra when followed by a consonant of झल् pratyāhāra.' Therefore we have:—शि + ० + ० + झ् + ढि. This is the form to which the present rule is applicable. Thus, there is a rule (VIII. 4. 58) which says that an anusvāra followed by a letter of यङ् pratyāhāra i.e., any consonant except ह्, झ्, ष् and स् is changed into a letter homogeneous or savarṇa to the letter that follows. Therefore, if we regard zero as sthānivat to the अ which it replaces, the anusvāra cannot be changed into न् as homogeneous to झ्. But it is not to be so regarded, and we have the form शि + ष् + झ् + ढि = शिण्डि or शिण्ढि; so also पिण्डि.

7. अनुस्वारविधि: 'a rule relating to anusvāra.' The above example will serve the purpose here:—शि + न् + ० + झ् + ढि. This by the rule already mentioned (VIII. 3. 24), requires the न् to be changed into anusvāra.

Now if zero be considered as sthānivat, then न् is not followed by a letter of झल् pratyāhāra, and cannot be changed into anusvāra. However, the zero is not regarded as sthānivat, and we change the न् into anusvāra. Other examples are शि + न् + ० + प्र + अन्ति = शिषन्ति; so also पिषन्ति ॥

8. दीर्घविधि: 'a rule directing the substitution of long vowels for short vowels.' Let us form the Inst. sing. of the noun प्रतिदिवन्. The termination of the Inst. sing. is ट or आ. Therefore, we have प्रतिदिवन् + आ = प्रतिदिव् + ० + न् + आ. Here the अ has been elided by rule VI. 4. 134, which teaches that words ending in अन् lose their अ before terminations technically called Bha. The termination of Inst. sing. is a Bha termination by force of rule I. 4. 18. The next rule that now comes into operation, is VIII. 2. 77, which requires the lengthening of the short penultimate vowels, of the इक् pratyāhāra, of words that end in ट् or ष् and are followed by a consonant. Here दिव् is a root that ends in व्; and if the zero be considered as sthānivat, then this व् is not followed by a consonant, but by a latent vowel, and so the short इ of दिव् will not be lengthened. This rule, however, provides for such lengthening, and therefore we have:—प्रतिदिव् + ० + न् + आ = प्रतिदीक्षा ॥

9. जश्विधि: 'a rule requiring the substitution of soft unaspirate consonants, of pratyāhāra जश्, in the place of hard consonants' In this case also the ādeśa that takes the place of a vowel is not sthānivat.

Let us add the affix क्तिन् to the root अद् 'to eat,' compounded with the word स or समान. In Vedic literature अद् is replaced by घस्, (II. 4. 39); so we have, स + घस् + क्तिन् = स + घस् + ति = स + घ् + ० + स् + ति (VI. 4. 100) = स + घ् + ० + ० + ति (VIII. 2. 26) = स + घ् + ० + ० + धि (VIII. 2. 40).

It is at this stage, that rule VIII. 4. 53 requires the घ् to be changed into ग्. This is a जश् rule, and teaches that in the place of letters of झल् class, the letters of जश् class are substituted, if followed by letters of झल् class. If the zero which was obtained by dropping the अ of घ, be considered as sthānivat, then the घ् is not followed by a consonant of झल् class, and cannot be changed into ग्. But it is not so. Therefore सघ् + ० + ० + धि = सग्धि: (Yaj. Ved. XVIII. 9). The various rules, by which first अ is omitted, and then स is dropped, have been referred to in brackets, and will be explained in their proper places.

Similarly the word बधाम्, which is the Imperative (lot) 2nd per. dual of the root भस्, and is thus evolved. This root belongs to the Juhutyādi class, and therefore, there is reduplication. Thus भस् + ताम् = भस् + भस् + ताम् = भ + भस् + ताम् = ब + भस् + ताम् = ब + भ् + ० + स् + ताम् (VI. 4. 100) = ब + भ् + ० + ० + ताम् (VIII. 2. 26) = ब + भ् + ० + ० + धाम् (VIII. 2. 40) = ब + भ् + ० + ० + धाम् = बधाम् ॥ Here the change of भ् into ब् is by the application of VIII. 4. 53, which is a jaś rule, and therefore, the zero is not sthānivat.

10. चरविधि: 'a rule requiring the substitution of the letters of चर् pratyâhâra instead of other consonants.' In the application of this rule, also the substitute that replaces a vowel is not sthânavat.

Let us form the 2nd pers. sing. perfect of the verb अद् 'to eat.' अद् is replaced by घस् (II. 4. 40) and अतुस् is the termination of the second person singular of लिट् or perfect tense. घस् + अतुस् = घस् + घस् + अतुस् (VI. 1. 8) = घ + घस् + अतुस् (VII. 4. 60) = ज + घस् + अतुस् (VIII. 4. 54) = ज + घ् + ० + स् + अतुस् (VI. 4. 98) = जघ् + ० + सतुस्.

At this stage comes the चर् rule in operation, which says that the letters of झल् pratyâhâra are replaced by those of चर् pratyâhâra, when followed by letters of खर् pratyâhâra. Here घ् is a letter of झल् class, and if zero is not sthânavat, it is followed by स् which is a letter of खर् class, and therefore घ् is required to be changed into क् of चर् class. By the present rule, zero is not sthânavat and thus we have:—जक् + सतुस् = जक्तुः (VIII. 3. 60).

Similarly अत्तन् the 3rd per. plural aorist of घस् is thus formed:—अ + घस् + झि + अन् = अ + घस् + अन् (II. 4. 80) = अ + घ् + ० + स् + अन् (VI. 4. 98). Here had the lopa been sthânavat, rule VIII. 4. 55 could not have applied. But it being a char rule, the lopa is not sthânavat. Therefore we have, अत्तन्.

When lopa is the substitute of a vowel, it is not sthânavat, for the purposes of the application of the rules of accent, rules relating to the doubling of letters, and the rules relating to the elision of ya. In other places, with the exception of the above three; the lopa substitute of a vowel is, and must be treated as sthânavat. Thus बहुखट्कः, कियोः, गियोः, वाय्वोः. In these cases the lopa-âdeśa being sthânavat, the rules relating to accent, lengthening and the elision of ya, do not apply.

द्विर्वचनेऽचि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विर्वचने, अचि, (स्थानिवत्, आदेशः, अचः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विर्वचननिमित्तेऽचि अजादेशः स्थानिवद्भवति द्विर्वचन एव कर्त्तव्ये ॥

59. Before an affix having an initial vowel, which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel is like the original vowel even in form, only for the purposes of reduplication and no further.

This sūtra has been explained in different ways by the authors of the Kasika and of the Siddhānta Kaumudī. According to the latter, the sūtra means:—'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows, that is a cause of reduplication, a substitute shall not take the place of a preceding vowel, whilst the reduplication is yet to be made; but the reduplication having been made,

the substitution may then take place.' The explanation given by Kasika is more in harmony with the Great Commentary. For all practical purposes, the two explanations lead to the same conclusion. According to Kasika, the vowel-substitute is sthānivat, in the sense, that it is exactly of the same form as the original, and retains this form only for a fixed time *vis.*, so long as the reduplication is being made; but as soon as the reduplication has been made, the substitute takes its proper form. This rule has its scope in the rules relating (a) to the elision of long आ, (b) to the elision of the penultimate, (c) to the elision of the affix णिच्, (d) to the substitution of semi-vowels for vowels, and lastly (e) to the substitution of अय्, अव्, आय् and आव् for ए, औ ऐ and औ respectively by the rules of sandhi.

(a). Elision of आ. Let us form the 2nd person perfect tense of the root पा 'to drink.' The termination of 2nd person perfect is अतुस्. This is, therefore, a termination beginning with a vowel, and it causes the reduplication of the root. The conditions of the present sūtra all exist in this. Thus we have पा + अतुस् = प + ० + अतुस् (VI. 4. 64). Here the आ is elided by VI. 4. 64. which teaches that 'the आ of the root is elided before ārdha-dhātuka affixes beginning with a vowel and which are कित् or डित् and before ह्र्.' The affix अतुस् is such an affix (I. 2. 5, III. 4. 115).

Now comes the rule about reduplication which is contained in sūtra VI. 1. 8, and teaches that a root consisting of a single vowel is reduplicated before the terminations of the perfect. Here, by the elision of आ, the only visible root left to us is प् which is a consonant without any vowel. The rule of reduplication, therefore, would not have applied to it, because there is no vowel in it, but for the present sūtra, which solves the difficulty. Here the vowel-substitute zero must be considered sthānivat i. e. as if it were the very आ itself. Thus we have पा + प् + ० + अतुस् = पपतुस् (VII. 4. 59). The long आ of the reduplicative syllable has been shortened by VII. 4. 59. So also पपुः।

(b). The elision of the penultimate. Let us form the same tense of हन् 'to kill.' हन् + अतुस् = ह् + ० + न् + अतुस् (VI. 4. 98).

Here also the preliminary conditions are all fulfilled, the affix begins with a vowel and it causes the reduplication of the root. The penultimate अ of हन् is replaced by the substitute lopa by VI. 4. 98, which teaches that the roots गन् 'to go' हन् 'to kill' and a few others lose their penultimate before affixes beginning with a vowel and which are also कित् or डित्. We know अतुस् to be such an affix. For the reasons already given, we can not reduplicate the consonants हन् as they have no vowel. However, this reduplication is effected by virtue of the present rule, and we have:—ह + ह् + अतुस् = जहत्तुः (VII. 4. 62, VII. 3. 55). The first ह् is changed into ज् by VII. 4. 62 and the second ह् into घ् by VII. 3. 55.

(c). The elision of the affix णिच् . Let us form the Aorist (luṅ) of the causative form of अद् . The causative is formed by adding the affix णिच् to the root; and the aorist takes the augment अ . Thus we have:— $\text{अ} + \text{अद्} + \text{णिच्} + \text{त्} = \text{आद्} + \text{इ} + \text{त्} = \text{आद्} + \text{इ} + \text{चङ्} + \text{त्}$. The affix चङ् (III. 1. 48) is added in forming the aorist of causatives. The letters च् and ङ् are indicatory, the real affix being अ . Now by VI. 4. 51, the affix णिच् is elided before an Ārdhadhātuka affix that does not take the intermediate इ . Now चङ् is such an affix. Therefore we have $\text{आद्} + \text{०} + \text{अत्}$.

At this stage, comes into operation another rule (VI. 1. 11), which declares that 'the root is reduplicated before the affix चङ् .' The चङ् is, thus, an affix which causes reduplication; it is an affix which also begins with a vowel. Therefore, it satisfies the conditions of this sūtra. Therefore, the zero which was a substitute in place of the vowel इ , becomes sthānivat to इ ; as if it were, the very इ itself. Thus we have the reduplicative syllable दि , by rule VI. 1. 2, which says that a verb beginning with a vowel reduplicates its second syllable. But as soon as the reduplication is over, the ādeśa takes up its original form of zero. Thus $\text{आदिद्} + \text{०} + \text{अत्} = \text{आदिदत्}$.

(d). The fourth class of cases, where this sūtra has scope, is the substitution of यच् for vowels. Thus let us form the perfect 2nd person singular of कृ 'to do':— $\text{कृ} + \text{अतुस्} = \text{क्क्} + \text{अतुस्}$, the semi-vowel र् taking the place of क् by the general rule of sandhi VI. 1. 77. Now we have already learned that अतुस् is an affix which causes reduplication and it begins with a vowel. Now र् is a substitute which comes in the place of a vowel (*i. e.*, क्), it will therefore be sthānivat by this sūtra. Had it not been sthānivat , the consonants क् could not be reduplicated, as they have no vowel. The substitute र् being taken equal to क् , we reduplicate क् ; in reduplication the क् is changed into च् by VII. 4. 62, and क् into अ by VII. 4. 66. Thus we have:— चक्रतुः ; similarly चक्रुः .

(e). The fifth case is the substitution of अय् &c. Let us form 1st person singular of the perfect of नी 'to lead': $\text{नी} + \text{णल्} = \text{नै} + \text{अ} = \text{नाय्} + \text{अ}$. The ई is vriddhi ed before the termination अ of the perfect (VII. 2. 115), and then changed into आय् by the general rule of sandhi (VI. 1. 78). Now the अ of the perfect causes reduplication, and it is an affix which begins with a vowel. It satisfies the conditions of this sūtra. Therefore the आय् which was a substitute for ऐ , being a vowel substitute, becomes sthānivat to ऐ in form. In reduplicating the word नाय् , we reduplicate as if it were still नै . Thus we have the form निनाय and not ननाय . Similarly निनय , लुलव , and लुलव .

Why have we used the word "dvirvachane" in the sūtra? Without it, the aphorism would have stood thus:—"Before an affix having an initial vowel which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel

is like the original vowel." Let us form जग्ने the 3rd per. sing. perfect tense (लिट्) of the root ज्ञे "to be exhausted," in the atmanepada. The affix of 3rd per. sing. atm. of लिट्, is एञ् (III. 4, 81). Thus ज्ञे + एञ् = ज्ञा + एञ् (VI. 1. 45). Now here ऐ is changed into आ, on account of the affix एञ्; this affix causes reduplication, but still आ is not to be considered as sthânavat to ऐ. For if आ be considered so, then in the next stage ज्ञा + एञ् = ज्ञ + ० + एञ् (VI. 4. 64) the lopa will be regarded as sthânavat to ऐ and the reduplicative syllable will be जि and not ज; the form being जिग्ने and not जग्ने. But आ is not sthânavat to ऐ, because *for the purposes of reduplication*, the change of ऐ into आ is immaterial; it is the second and further change of आ into zero which is *directly* connected with reduplication, (for if zero be not considered sthânavat, there can be no reduplication); and therefore, this substitute zero should be regarded as sthânavat to आ.

Why do we say "which causes reduplication?" Without these words the sūtra would have stood thus:—"Before an affix having an initial vowel, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." In that case we could not get the form द्युषति, 3rd per. sing. desiderative present tense of दिष् 'to shine, to play.' This form is thus evolved:—दिष् + सन् (III. 1. 7) = दि + ऊ + सन् (VI. 4. 19) = द्य + ऊ + सन् (VI. 1. 77). Here, the change of इ into य् is caused by ऊ (tech. ऊङ्), which begins with a vowel; is this य् to be regarded as sthânavat to इ? No, because ऊ does not *cause* reduplication, it is सन् which causes reduplication. Therefore the equation is:—द्यु + सन् = द्युष (VI. 1. 9) = द्युषति. If य् could be regarded like इ, then the form would have been दिद्युषति.

Why do we say "beginning with a vowel"? Otherwise the sūtra would have run thus:—"Before an affix which causes reduplication, the substitute which takes the place of a vowel, is like the original vowel, for the purposes of reduplication." The affix यङ् of the Intensive verbs causes reduplication (VI. 1. 9); but as it does not begin with a vowel, the substitute will not be sthânavat. Let us form जेप्रीयते the 3rd per. sing. Intensive of the root प्रा 'to smell.' Thus प्रा + यङ् = प्री + यङ् (VII. 4. 31) = जेप्रीयते (VII. 4. 82). Here, आ is changed into ई on account of यङ्; but ई is not sthânavat to आ; had it been so, the form would have been जप्रीयते. Similarly देध्रीयते.

अदर्शनं लोपः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदर्शनम्, लोपः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदर्शनमश्रवणमनुचारणमनुपलब्धिभिरभावो वर्णविनाश इत्यनर्थान्तरमेतैः शब्दै-
र्योग्योऽभिधीयते तस्य लोप इतीयं संज्ञा भवति ॥

60. The substitution of a blank (lopa) signifies disappearance.

This defines elision. When a letter or word-form becomes latent,

is neither heard, nor pronounced, nor written, it becomes lopa or is said to be elided. Lopa is the term for the disappearance of anything previously apparent.

In Sanskrit Grammar, this "lopa" is considered as a substitute or *âdesa*, and as such this grammatical *zero* has all the rights and liabilities of the thing which it replaces. This blank or lopa is in several places treated as having a real existence and rules are made applicable to it, in the same way as to any ordinary substitute that has an apparent form. The Grammarians do not content themselves with one sort of blank, but have invented several others; there are many kinds of them, such as lopa blank, *ślu* blank, *lup* blank, and *luk* blank, which like different sorts of zeroes of a Mathematician, have different functions.

The word lopa occurs in sūtras VI. 1. 66 and VI. 4. 118 &c. The lopa substitute is a sense substitute, and not a form substitute. Thus when we say 'let the substitute lopa take the place of such and such a letter or word,' we do not mean that the letters ल्, ओ, पू and अ should be substituted there, but the sense of the thing, namely 'disappearance.'

प्रत्ययस्य लुक्-श्लु-लुपः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि॥ प्रत्ययस्य, लुक्-श्लु-लुपः,
(अदर्शनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययादर्शनस्य लुक् श्लु लुप इत्येताः संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

61. The disappearance of an affix when it is caused by the words *luk*, *ślu* or *lup* are designated by those terms respectively.

When an affix is elided by using the term *luk*, that disappearance gets the appellation of *luk*, similarly when an affix is elided by using the terms *ślu* or *lup*, the disappearance gets the name of *ślu* or *lup*.

Thus in अद् + शप् + लुक् + ति = अस्ति 'he eats.' Here the vikarapa शप् has been elided by using the word *luk* (II. 4. 72). Similarly in जुहोति 'he invokes,' the vikarapa शप् is elided by the word *ślu* (II. 4. 75), so in वरणाः 'a city in the vicinity of weeds called *varaṇā*.' Here the Taddhita affix indicating vicinity has been elided by the word *lup*. (IV. 2. 82),

Why do we use the words "of the affix"? Without these words, the sūtra would have run thus:—"The disappearance is called *luk*, *ślu* or *lup*." So that the disappearance of a *base* would also be caused by the use of these terms. Thus in II. 4. 70, there would have been 'luk' of the bases *âgastya*, and *kaundînyā*; which however is not intended. In that sūtra, the 'luk' of the affixes is only intended. So also in sūtra IV. 3. 168 there would have been the substitution of 'luk' for the *bases* of the words.

प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि॥ प्रत्यय-लोपे, प्रत्यय-
लक्षणम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययलोपे कृते प्रत्ययलक्षणं प्रत्ययहेतुकं कार्यं भवति ॥

62. When elision of an affix has taken place (*lopa*), the affix still exerts its influence, and the operations dependant upon it, take place as if it were present.

This sūtra declares that when an affix disappears by lopa-elision its potency does not disappear. Thus the term 'pada' is defined to be that which ends in a case-affix or a conjugational-affix. But after certain bases, these affixes vanish; still those bases become 'pada' in spite of the vanishing of the whole affix. How can an operation directed by an affix take place, when the affix itself vanishes, is a doubt which may naturally arise. This sūtra answers the question. Though an affix may be elided by lopa, yet an operation of which such an affix was the cause, must take place. Thus अमिचित् is a pada though the case-termination has been elided. Similarly the word अधोक् 'he milked;' which is the Imperfect (लङ्) of दुह्, and is thus formed. अदोह् + तिप् = अदोह् + त् (III. 4. 100) = अदोह् + ० (VI. 1. 68) = अदोह् + ० (VIII. 2. 32) (here ह् is changed into त् by taking the word 'aduh' as a 'pada') अधोह् + ० (VIII. 2. 37) = अधोह् (VIII. 2. 39) = अधोक्.

Why have we used the word प्रत्यय in this aphorism again, when its anuvṛitti was understood in this sūtra from the last? This repetition indicates that the present rule applies where the *whole* of the affix is elided, and not when a *portion* of an affix is elided. The present sūtra, therefore, does not apply to forms like आग्नीय and सङ्ग्रीय. These forms are the 1st person sing. लिङ् Atmanepada of हन् and गम्. Thus आहन् + इट् = आहन् + अ (III. 4. 106) = आहन् + सीयुट् + अ (III. 4. 102) = आहन् + ईय् + अ. Here, सू a portion of the affix सीयुट् is elided by VII. 2. 79; now there will be no प्रत्ययलक्षण of this partial elision of an affix. Had it been so, the final nasal न् of आहन् would have been elided by VI. 4. 37: but that is not so: and we have आग्नीय (VII. 3. 54 and VI. 4. 98).

The word लक्षण means that by which a thing is recognised. The word प्रत्ययलक्षण, therefore, means the effect by which an affix could be recognised. The orthographical changes, like the following, are not however pratyaya-lakṣaṇa. In forming the genitive singular of रै 'wealth,' we have रै + अस् = रायः, here, the change of ऐ into आय् by the rules of sandhi, though caused by the affix अस्; is not such an effect, which the affix causes, *by virtue of being an affix*, but it is an effect caused by the accidental fact, that the affix begins with a vowel, and thus gives scope to the euphonic rule VI. 1. 78. Therefore, when in forming the genitive compound of रायः + कुलं, we elide the case-affix अस्, we get the form रैकुलम्. Here the elided affix will not cause the peculiar orthographic change mentioned above, which is dependent upon its letters, and not upon the affix as such.

न लुमताङ्गस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, लुमता, अङ्गस्य, (प्रत्यय-लक्षणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुमता शब्देन लुप्ते प्रत्यये यदङ्गं तस्य प्रत्ययलक्षणं कार्यं न भवति ॥

63. Of the base (anga), whose affix has been elided by the use of any of the three words containing लु, the operations dependent on it do not take place, regarding such base.

This sūtra is a special exception to the previous aphorism which was too extensive. It declares, that when an affix is elided by using the words लुक्, इलु, or लुप्, then the 'sign' or लक्षण or the peculiar virtue of the affix also vanishes. Thus there is an important difference in the elision of an affix by force of the words लुप् &c.; and by the word लोप. In one case the virtue of the affix subsists inspite of the elision, in the other it does not.

The word अङ्ग in this sūtra requires some explanation. "A root, followed by a suffix (pratyaya), is raised to the dignity of a base (prātipadika), and finally becomes a real word (pada) when it is finished by receiving a case-termination (vibhakti). Every base, with regard to the suffix which is attached to it, is called Anga, body."

Thus the word गर्गाः is the plural of the word गार्ग्यः. The word गार्ग्यः is formed by adding the affix यञ् to गर्ग (IV. 1. 105); the force of the indicatory य् being to cause the vṛiddhi of the first vowel of the word (VII. 2. 117). But in forming the plural of गार्ग्यः, rule II. 4. 64 presents itself, which declares that there is लुक् of the affix यञ् when the word takes the plural. Here the affix यञ् is elided by the word लुक्, which means not only the elision of the य of गार्ग्य but also the shortening of आ into अ, that is, the affix being elided, it vanishes altogether, leaving no trace behind, in the shape of the vṛiddhi of the first vowel, which the affix was competent to cause.

Similarly मृष्टः is the 3rd per. dual present tense of मृञ् 'to clean.' It belongs to Adādi class in which the vikaraṇa शप् is elided by 'luk' (II. 4. 72); and hence there is no vṛiddhi substitution, which would have taken place by VII. 2. 114, (the ik of the base मृञ् is vṛiddhi before verbal affixes).

Similarly जुहुतः 'they two sacrifice'; here the vikaraṇa शप् has been elided by using the word 'ślu' (II. 4. 75, let ślu be substituted in the room of śap after the verbs hu &c.). The effect of this elision is, that there is no guṇa substitution of the vowel of the base, which शप् was competent to cause.

When an affix is elided in any other way than by the enunciation of the three terms containing लु, it is competent to cause its proper effect. Thus कु + लिच् + यक् + ते = कारि + यक् + ते = कार् + यक् + ते = कार्यते. Here the elision of the affix लिच् is by 'lopa,' (VI. 4. 51) and hence though the affix vanishes, its effect remains. Why do we say 'in respect of an Anga or inflective base?' Observe पञ्च 'five,' सप्त 'seven,' पयः 'milk,' साम 'sāma veda.' Here in the word pañcha, the plural case-affix is elided by VII. 1. 22

(after the words called *shaṭ*, the *जस्* and *शस्* are elided by 'luk'). Here the affix is elided by enouncing the word 'luk,' the result is, that the affix cannot produce any change which it would otherwise have caused, in the *anga* or inflective base; such as lengthening, as in *râjan*, 'a king,' 1. p. *râjānaḥ* 'kings.' But though it is inoperative as regards the *anga*, the elided affix is not altogether inactive. It retains the virtue of raising the base to the dignity of a *pada*. Thus:—*पंचन् + जस् = पंचन् + ०*, (luk VII. 1. 22). The word *pañchan* is now a *pada*, and as such, it drops its final *न्*.

अचोऽन्त्यादि टि ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, अन्त्यादि, टि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचां संनिविष्टानां योऽन्त्योऽत्र तदादि शब्दरूपं दिसंज्ञं भवति ॥

64. The final portion of a word, beginning with the last among the vowels in the word, is called *टि*.

This *sûtra* defines *टि*. It is that portion of a word which is included between the last letter and the nearest vowel. Thus in the word *अग्निचित्* the portion *इत्* is *टि*; so also in *सामसुत्* the portion *उत्*. The word *टि* occurs in *sûtra* III. 4. 79.

The word *अचः* in the *sûtra* is in the genitive case, which has the force of *nirdhâraṇa* or specification; and though it is in the singular number, it represents class name, meaning 'among the vowels.'

अलोऽन्त्यात्पूर्व उपधा ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलः, अन्त्यात्, पूर्वः, उपधा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वादीवर्ण समुदायेऽन्त्यादलः पूर्वोऽथो वर्णः सोऽन्तेवोपधा संज्ञो भवति ॥

65. The letter immediately preceding the last letter of a word is called the penultimate.

This defines *उपधा* or penultimate. Thus in the words *पच्*, *भिद्*, *बुध्*, *वृत्* the letters *अ*, *इ*, *उ*, and *क्* are *उपधा*.

The word '*upadhâ*' occurs in *sûtra* VII. 2. 116.

तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मिन्, इति, निर्दिष्टे, पूर्वस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थनिर्देशो पूर्वस्यैव कार्यं भवति नोत्तरस्य ॥

66. When a term is exhibited in the seventh case in these *sûtras*, the operation directed, is to be understood as affecting the state of what immediately precedes that which the term denotes.

This is a declaratory or interpreting *sûtra*. When in a *sûtra*, a word is used in the locative case, the operation ordained by that *sûtra* is to be per-

formed on the word preceding it. Thus in the sūtra इको यणचि (VI. 1. 77) the word अचि is in the locative case, which sūtra, therefore, means that इ, उ, ऋ, ए followed by a vowel (अच्) are changed into य्, व्, र्, ल्, (यण्). The literal translation of the sūtra being:—‘Of इक् there is यण् in अच्.’ The force of ‘in’ or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus इधि + उक्कम् = इधुक्कम् ; so मध्विदम्, पचत्योदनम् ॥

The word nirdishṭa (meaning ‘exhibited’) has been used in the sūtra to indicate immediateness. Thus in अग्निचित्, the इ of अग्नि is not directly followed by the इ of चित्, there being the letter च् intervening, therefore, rule VI. 1. 77, does not apply here: and we have no sandhi.

तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मात्, इति, उत्तरस्य,
(निर्दिष्टे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मादिति पञ्चम्यर्थनिर्देश उत्तरस्यैव कार्यं भवति न पूर्वस्य ॥

67. An operation caused by the exhibition of a term in the ablative or fifth case, is to be understood to enjoin the substitution of something in the room of that which immediately follows the word denoted by the term.

This sūtra explains the force of words in the ablative case when employed in these aphorisms. As the locative case refers to a preceding word, so the ablative refers to a succeeding word.

Thus sūtra VIII. 4. 61 declares that ‘after उद्, of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.’ Thus उद् + स्थानम्. Here the word उद्: is exhibited in the original sūtra in the ablative case, and by the present sūtra it means that a dental letter थ् must be substituted in the place of sthâna, and by I. 1. 54 ante, this dental takes the place of स्; we have उद् + स्थानम् = उत्थ्-थानम्. Similarly in sūtra तिङ् इतिङ्: (VIII.2. 18, ‘a word ending in a conjugational affix, when following after a word ending in a non-conjugational affix, becomes anudâtta.’) Here the word ‘atiṇah’ is exhibited in the ablative case, therefore, the operation directed by this aphorism, namely, the substitution of anudâtta accent, must take place in the word that follows. Thus ओदुनं पंचति; but not so in पचत्योदुनमिति ॥

स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वम्, रूपम्,
शब्दस्य, अशब्दसंज्ञा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्दे स्वमेव रूपं शब्दस्य ग्राह्यं बोध्यप्रत्याख्यं भवति न बाह्योऽर्थः शब्दसंज्ञां वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ * सित्तद्विशेषाणां वृत्ताद्यर्थम् * ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ * पितृर्यायवचनस्य च स्वाद्यर्थम् * ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ * जितृर्यायवचनस्यैव राजाद्यर्थम् * ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ * क्षित्तद्विशेषाणाञ्च मत्स्याद्यर्थम् * ॥

68. In this Grammar, when an operation is directed with regard to a word, the individual form of the word possessing meaning is to be understood, except with regard to a word which is a definition.

This is a rule of interpretation. The word *स्व* which means 'one's own' denotes 'the meaning,' and the word *रूप* denotes 'the individual form of a word.' The sense of the sūtra is that a word denotes both things expressed by those two words *स्व* and *रूप*, *viz.*, its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to *अग्नि* will be applicable to the word composed of *अ*, *ग्*, *न्*, *इ* and not to the words synonymous with *agni*, such as, *पाककः*, *ज्वलनः* &c.

In this science, therefore, the very word-form is to be taken, and understood and operated upon, and not external sense: with the exception of words which are definitions, in the latter case the things defined are to be taken.

This sūtra is begun in order to remove the difficulty which might otherwise arise from a consideration that a word connotes a certain meaning, and as no grammatical operation is possible in a concrete object, we must take the words having the same meaning. As when a person is called to bring a 'cow,' he brings the animal cow, and not the letters c, o, w. It may therefore be said, that as no grammatical operation is possible in a material thing, we may take all the names synonymous with the word and operate upon them; this sūtra removes that doubt.

Thus the sūtra *अग्नेर्दक्* (IV. 2. 33) declares:—"that the affix '*dhak*' comes after the word '*agni*'." Thus *अग्नि* + *दक्* = *आग्नेयम्* "belonging to *agni*," as in the following sentence *आग्नेयमष्टाकपालं निर्वपेत्*. Here the word *अग्नि* indicates the individual word-form *अग्नि* and not its synonyms. Similarly sūtra IV. 2. 19 declares:—"let there be optionally *दक्* after *उदधित्*." As *औदधित्कम्* (VII. 3. 50 and 51) or *औदधितम्*. The rule applies to the word-form '*udaśvita*' meaning 'curd-milk' and not to *तक्र*, *अरिट*, *कालशेष*, *इण्डाहत* and *मथित*, which are synonyms.

There is an important exception to this rule, and that is in favour of terms which are technical terms of Grammar and have been so defined.

Thus *साधाच्चक्षुः* (I. 1. 20) and *तरुमनौ घः* (I. 1. 22). Here the words '*घु*' and '*घ*' denote the words connoted by those terms and not to their word-form. There are, however, some sūtras in Pāṇini which are ap-

parently exceptions to this rule. These exceptions have been arranged under four heads, technically called सिन्, पिन्, जिन्, and भिन्. When there is a rule about a word, it may mean that very word-form, or words representing species falling under that word, or words which are synonymous with it. Thus rule II. 4. 12 declares, :—"वृक्ष 'tree' मृग 'deer,' दण्ड 'grass,' &c., may optionally be compounded as dvandva." Here the word वृक्ष stands as a generic name for the species falling under it, and does not represent the word-form, वृक्ष. Thus we have dvandva-compound of वृक्ष + न्यग्रोध, as वृक्षन्यग्रोधम् or वृक्षन्यग्रोधाः । Such sūtras are called सिन्.

Then in sūtra III. 4. 40, we have an example of पिन्. That sūtra means "the word पुष 'to feed' takes the affix एमुल् (अम्) when compounded with the word स्व." Here the word 'स्व' means both the word-form स्व, as well as the synonyms of स्व and the species of स्व. Thus स्व and धन 'wealth' are synonyms ; while स्व 'wealth' and गो 'cow' are genus and species. Thus स्व + पुष् + एमुल् = स्वपोषम्. Similarly रैपोषम्, धनपोषम्, गोपोषम्, अश्वपोषम्. Such sūtras are called पिन्.

Then in sūtra II. 4. 23, we have an example of जिन्. "A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word सभा 'court' is neuter, provided that it is preceded by the word rājā, or by a word denoting a non-human being." Here the synonyms only of the word 'rājā' are taken, and neither the word-form 'rājā,' nor the special instances falling under it. Thus इन 'king' + सभा = इनसभम् 'king's assembly,' ईश्वर + सभा = ईश्वरसभम् 'king's assembly.' But not राजसभम्, but राजसभा. Nor can we take particular kings, such as चन्द्रगुप्त or पुष्पमित्र. In their case we must have पुष्पमित्रसभा, चन्द्रगुप्तसभा.

Then in sūtra IV. 4. 35, we have an example of भिन्. The sūtra means "the words पक्षि 'bird' मत्स्य 'fish' मृग 'deer,' take the affix ठक् when the meaning is the killer thereof." Here the words पक्षि &c. denote both the word-forms पक्षि &c. as well as the species denoted by those terms, but not their synonyms. Thus पक्षि + ठक् = पाक्षिकः 'a bird-killer,' मात्स्यिकः, 'a fish-catcher.' शकुनि + ठक् = शाकुनिकः 'a vulture-killer.' But we cannot take the synonyms of 'पक्षि,' &c. except in the case of 'मत्स्य,' when we may take the word 'मीन.' As मात्स्यिकः and मैनिकः 'a fish killer.'

अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, उदित्, सवर्णस्य, च, अप्रत्ययः (स्वरूपं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अण् गृह्यमाण उदिच्च सवर्णानां ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य प्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा ॥

69. The letters of the Pratyāhāra अण् i. e. the vowels and semi-vowels, and a term having उ for its indicative letter, refer to their own form as well as to their

homogeneous letters, except when they are used as pratyāyās or affixes.

The pratyāhāra अण् in thus sūtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where अण् pratyāhāra refers to the second ण् of लण्. The letters included in अण्, and the letters having an indicatory उ, refer to, and include their homogeneous letters also. Thus कु refers to all the five gutturals क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, similarly चु, ङु, लु, and पु, as in sūtra I. 3. 8. Similarly अ includes short, long and protracted अ. The words 'its own form' are understood in this sūtra, being drawn from the previous sūtra. Thus sūtra आङ्गुणः (VI. 1. 87), 'when a vowel comes after अ, गुण is the single substitute for both.' Here though the rule mentions only short अ, we take the long आ also. Thus not only नर + ईशः = नरेशः; but महा + ईशः = महेशः। So also in sūtra अस्य च्वौ (VII. 4. 32), 'there is long ई in the room of अ when the affix 'chvi' (V. 4. 50) follows.' Here long आ is also included; thus कृष्ण + करोति = कृष्णीकरोति, and खट्वा + करोति = खट्वीकरोति. So also in sūtra यस्येति च (VI. 4. 148). 'When long ई follows, there is elision of the इ or अ of the base,' the rule applies to the bases ending in long ई and आ also.

This rule of course does not apply to affixes. Thus sūtra III. 2. 168, says, 'after words ending in the affix san, and the words āśansa and bhiksha, there is उ.' Here उ is an affix and therefore does not include long ऊ. Thus भिक्षुः 'a beggar.' So also in IV. 3. 9, the short अ only is to be taken and not the long one.

तपरस्तत्कालस्य ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ त-परः, तत्-कालस्य, (स्व रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तपरो वर्णस्तत्कालस्यात्मनातुल्यकालस्य गुणान्तरयुक्तस्य सर्वणस्य ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

70. The letter which has त् after or before it, besides referring to its own form, refers to those homogeneous letters which have the same prosodial length or time.

By the previous sūtra it was declared that a vowel standing by itself included all the letters of its class. Thus अ includes आ; and इ, ई; &c. This sūtra lays down the rule by which the very form of the letter is taken and not all the letters of its class. This is done by placing a त् either after or before the letter. Thus अत् means the very letter अ and not all its homogeneous letters. Similarly उत् means short उ only and not long or protracted उ. We had to refer to this sūtra, in our very first sūtra, in explaining the term आत्.

The sūtra consists of two words तपरः and तत्कालस्य. Taparah means that which has a त् after it or that which is after त्. Tat-kāla means having the same time. According to time the vowels are divided into short, long and protracted. Short vowels have one measure, long vowels two, and protracted vowels three. A consonant lasts half the time of a short vowel. Therefore a letter preceded or followed by त्, refers to its own form as well as to those only of its homogeneous letters which have the same time. Thus the letter अत् will include the udātta, anudātta, svarita (both nasalised and non-nasalised) अ and not the long and protracted forms.

This sūtra declares an injunction. The anuvṛitti of अत् of the previous sūtra does not run into this sūtra. Any other letter than अत् may be followed by त् and the rule of this sūtra will apply to that also. This rule qualifies the previous sūtra which would therefore mean that an अत् letter which is not followed or preceded by a त् includes its homogeneous letters also.

Thus in the sūtra VII. 1. 9 अतोभिस ऐस्. 'After words ending in अत् (i. e. short अ), ऐस् takes the place of भिस्.' Thus वृक्षैः. But in खट्वा which ends in long आ and whose prosodial time is different from अ, this rule will not apply, and we have खट्वाभिः.

आदिरन्त्येन सहेता ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, अन्त्येन, सह,
इता, (स्वं रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिरन्त्येनेत्संज्ञकेन सह गृह्यमाणस्तन्मध्यपतितानां वर्णानां ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

71. An initial letter, with a final इत् letter as a final, is the name of itself and of the intervening letters.

This sūtra explains the mode of interpreting pratyāhāras. Thus the pratyāhāra अक् means those letters whose beginning is अ and whose final इत् is क्.

Why do we say with the 'final' indicatory letter? Because a pratyāhāra like सुद् would be otherwise ambiguous. It might be doubted whether it is formed with the final द् of औद् and refers to the first five case-affixes, or whether it is formed with the initial द् of दा and therefore refers to the first seven case-affixes. The present sūtra clears up the doubt. A pratyāhāra is formed with the final इत् and not with the initial इत्.

येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ येन, विधिः, तद्-अन्तस्य,
(स्वं रूपम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन विशेषणेन विधिर्विधीयते सतदन्तस्यात्मान्तस्य समुदायस्य ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * समास प्रत्ययविधौ तदन्तविधेः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥ *

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ * उगिद्ववर्णमहणवर्जम् ॥ *

परिभाषा ॥ * यस्मिन्विधिस्तदावल्महणे ॥ *

72. An injunction which is made with regard to a particular attribute, applies to words having that attribute at their end as well as to that attribute itself.

This sūtra consists of three words :—येन 'by what (attribute),' विधिः 'rule,' तदन्तस्य 'having that (attribute) at its end.'

This is a rule of interpretation. When a rule is made with regard to a particular attribute or letter, it means also words having those attributes or letters at their end. Thus there is a rule (III. 1. 97) declaring "let there be the affix यत् after the vowels." Here the phrase "after the vowels" means and includes "after the roots ending in vowels, as well as roots consisting of a single vowel." Thus चि + यत् = चेयम्. Therefore, this sūtra means that when a rule is laid down in this grammar with regard to a particular attribute, that rule, besides being applicable to that particular attribute, is also applicable to words ending in that particular attribute. Thus a rule laid down generally with regard to vowels, will apply to words ending in vowels; a rule laid down with regard to certain forms, will apply to words ending in those forms.

Thus the sūtra एरच् (III. 3. 56) 'after इ there is अच्' declares that the affix ach would come not only after इ, but after any expression that ends in इ. Thus इ + अच् = अयः, चि + अच् = चयः ॥

Vart :—The present rule, (called tadanta-vidhi) must not be applied to rules relating to compounds (samāsa), and to pratyayas (affixes). Thus sūtra II. 1. 24, declares that a word in the accusative case is compounded with the words śrita, atita &c. As कष्टे + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः 'involved in pain.' The present sūtra must not be applied here, and we cannot say that a word in the accusative case would be compounded with another that ends in śrita; for tadanta-vidhi does not apply here. Hence we cannot form a compound of कष्टे + परमश्रितः ॥

Similarly, in rules of affixes. Thus sūtra IV. 1. 99 declares "that the words नड &c., take the affix फक्." Thus नड + फक् = नाडायनः। But we cannot apply the affix phak to the word सूत्रनड, the tadanta-vidhi not being applicable here. The descendant of सूत्रनड will be called सोत्रनाडि and not as above.

The above vārtika is however qualified by the following :—

Vart :—The above vārtika does not apply to words formed by affixes

that have an indicatory उक् (उ, ऋ, ॠ), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix ktavatu (I. 1. 26) has an indicatory उ, and we have कृतवत्. A rule which will apply to kṛitavat will apply also to the word which ends in kṛitavat. Thus the feminine of kṛitavat is कृतवती (IV. 1. 6), the feminine of sukṛitavat will be sukṛitavatī. Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 अत इञ् says "after अ there is the affix इञ्." This is a rule relating to pratyayas, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of tadanta-vidhi will apply here. Thus दक्ष + इञ् = दक्षि 'the son of Daksha.'

Vart:—When a term, which denotes a letter, is exhibited in a rule in the form of the locative case and qualifies something else which likewise stands in the locative case, that which is qualified by it must be regarded as beginning with the letter which is denoted by the term in question, and not as ending with it.

Thus sūtra VI. 4. 77, achi śnu dhātu bhruvām yvor iyañ uvañau, means "iyañ and uvañ are the substitutes of what ends with the pratyaya śnu and what ends in a verbal root in इ or उ, whether long or short, and of the inflective base bhrū, when an affix beginning with a vowel follows." Here the word 'achi' is exhibited in the seventh case, which literally means 'when a vowel follows;' but by virtue of the present vārtika it means, 'when an affix beginning with a vowel follows,' as. अचिः, भ्रुवः ॥

वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद् वृद्धम् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धिः, यस्य,

अचाम्, आदिः, तद्, वृद्धम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अचामध्ये यस्य वृद्धिसंज्ञक आदिभूतस्तच्छब्दरूपं वृद्धसंज्ञं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ *गोत्रान्तादसमस्तवत्प्रत्ययो भवतीति वक्तव्यम्* ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ *वा नामधेयस्य वृद्ध संज्ञा वक्तव्यः ॥ *

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ *जिह्वाकात्यहरित्कात्य वर्जम् ॥ *

73. That word, among the vowels of which the first is a vṛiddhî, is called vṛiddham.

This defines the word वृद्धम्. The sūtra consists of five words:— वृद्धिः 'the vṛiddhi vowel;' यस्य 'whose,' अचाम् 'among the vowels,' आदिः 'is first;' तद् 'that;' वृद्धम् 'is called vṛiddham.'

If a word consisting of many vowels, has a vṛiddhi vowel coming first in the order of vowels, that word is called vṛiddham. Thus the words माला, शाला &c., have the first vowel आ a vṛiddhi vowel, therefore, they are called vṛiddham.

The word *vṛiddham* has been defined in order to make applicable to these peculiar words certain *taddhita* affixes. Thus there is a rule (IV. 2. 114) by which the affix *छ* is added to *vṛiddham*. Thus *माला + छ = मालीयः* ॥

Why do we say "*the first?*" Because a word like *सभासंनयनः*, which is not a *vṛiddha* word, will not admit of the affix *छ*. Its corresponding derivative will be *सभासंनयनः* ॥

Vart:—A proper noun, though not coming under the above definition, may yet be regarded optionally as a *vṛiddham*. Thus *देवदत्त + छ = देवदत्तीया*, or we may have *देवदत्ता*.

Vart:—A compound ending in a *Gotra* word, is regarded for the purposes of the addition of this affix, as if it was not compounded. Thus *रौढि* is a *Gotra* word and also *vṛiddham*. Its compound *घृतरौढि* will be regarded as a *vṛiddham* too, for the addition of the affix. As *घृतरौढि + छ = घृतरौढीयाः* 'the students of *Ghṛitarauḍhi*.' So also *ओदनपाणिनीयाः*, *वृद्धाम्भीयाः*, *वृद्धकाश्यपीयाः* &c.

Vart:—Exception must be made in the case of *जिह्वाकात्य* and *हरितकात्य*. They do not take *छ*. Thus *जैह्वाकाता* and *हारितकाताः*.

त्यदादीनि च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदीनि, च ॥

• वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीनि शब्दरूपाणि वृद्धसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

74. The words *tyad* &c., are also called *vṛiddham*.

The *त्यद्* &c. have been given in the list of *sarvanāmas*. See *sūtra* 27. These words are also called *vṛiddham*. Thus *तद् + छ = तदीयम्*, *एतदीयम्*, *मदीयम्*, *इदमीयम्*, *अदसीयम्*, *त्वादायनिः*, *मादायनिः* &c.

एङ् प्राचां देशे ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ एङ्, प्राचाम्, देशे, (यस्याचामादिः, वृद्धम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एङ् यस्याचामादिस्तत्प्राग्देशाभिधाने वृद्ध संज्ञं भवति ॥

75. A word that has the letters *ए* and *ओ* as the first among its vowels, gets also the designation of *vṛiddham*, when it is the name of Eastern countries.

As *गोनर्द* is a country of the east, it is a *vṛiddham* word and we have *गोनर्द + छ = गोनर्दीयः*; similarly *एणीपचनीयम्*, *भोजकटीयः*.

The word *prāk* in the *sūtra* has been differently interpreted. The Grammarian Kupin takes the word *prāk* as an epithet qualifying the word *āchārya*, 'professor' understood. In that case the *sūtra* will be thus translated:—'In the opinion of the Eastern (or ancient) professors, a word that has the letters *e* and *o* as the first among its vowels, and is the name of a country, is called *vriddham*.' Under this interpretation, this will be an optional rule only, giving the opinion of eastern or ancient grammarians.

Others however take the word *prāk* as qualifying the word *deśa* and the meaning then is as given in the text.

Why do we say 'having the letters ए and ओ'? If a simple vowel is first among the vowels, of a word, that word will not be called *vriddham*: and as such will not take the affix छ; as आदिच्छन्नः, कान्यकुब्जः.

Why do we say of 'Eastern country'? Because this rule does not apply to a word like देवदत्तः which is the name of a town in the Punjab, which is not an eastern country. Its secondary derivative will be दैवदत्तः, born in Devadatta.

Why do we say 'country'? The rule will not apply to rivers &c. Thus from गोमति we have गौमता: 'fish born in the river Gomati.'



ओ३म्

॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER II.

गाङ् कुटादिभ्योऽञ् णिङित् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ गाङ्-कुट-आदिभ्यः, अङ्णिङ् डि, त् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गाङ्कुटादिभ्यः परेऽङ्णिङितः प्रत्ययाङितो भवन्ति, डिङ्ङवन्तीत्यर्थः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ * व्यचेः कुटादित्वमनसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. All affixes after the verb gāṇ 'to study' and the verb kut 'to be crooked,' and the rest, are as if they had an indicatory ङ् (nit), except those affixes which have an indicatory ञ् (ñit) or ण् (ṇit).

This is an atides'a sūtra, and makes certain affixes, though not having an indicatory ङ्, to produce the same effect as if they were really डिङ्.

The root गाङ् is substituted for the verb इङ् in certain tenses, in which the verb इङ् is defective (II, 4. 49). The कुटादि verbs are roots belonging to the Tudādi class of verbs, and they are forty roots beginning with कुट् 'to be crooked' and ending with कुङ् 'to groan.'

After these roots all affixes are treated as if they were marked with a ङ् with the exception of those affixes which are ञित् or णित्.

Thus from गाङ् we have in the aorist the form अध्यगीष्ट; which is thus evolved. अधि + अङ् + इङ् + सिच् + त = अध्य + गा + स् + त (II. 4. 50.) = अध्य + गी + स्त (VI. 4. 66) = अध्यगीष्ट 'he studied,' अध्यगीषतां 'they two studied'; अध्यगीषत 'they studied.' Here by VI. 4. 66, the आ is changed into ई before the affix सिच्, which is regarded as डिङ्.

Similarly, after the verbs कुट् &c., all affixes are treated as डिङ्, with the exceptions already mentioned.

Thus कुट् + तृच् (III. 1. 133) = कुट् + इट् + तृच् (VII. 2. 35) = कुटित्, nominative singular कुटिता 'who acts crookedly.' Here the affix तृच् being, regarded as डिङ् does not cause the guṇa substitution of the उ of कुट्, by I. 1. 15.

Similarly with the affixes तुमुन् and तव्यम्, we have कुटितुम् and कुटितव्यम्. So on with all the forty roots of kuṭādi class: e.g. उषुडिता, उषुडितुम्, उषुडितव्यम्.

But the affixes marked with झ् or ञ् will not be so treated. Thus णिच् by which causatives are formed, is such an affix; e.g. उत्कुद् + णिच् + शप् + तिप् = उत्कोद् + इ + अ + ति = उत्कोटयति. Here there is guṇa of the उ of कुद्. So also before the affix णल् of the perfect tense, we have उच्चुकोद्, and before the affix ण्डल् we have उत्कोटकः ।

Vārtika:—The root व्यच् 'to deceive,' is also treated like kuṭādi verbs, except before the affix अस्. As विचिता 'he shall deceive,' विचितुम् 'for the purpose of deceiving' विचितव्यम् &c. Here there is samprasāraṇa before the ñit terminations ता, तुम् and तव्यम् and the य of व्यच् is changed into इ by rule VI. 1. 16.

But the affix अस् is not ñit and consequently there is no samprasāraṇa before it. Thus उरुव्यचाः 'an imp.'

विज इट् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि विजः, इट्, (डित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भोविजी भयञ्चलनयोः अस्मात्पर इडादिः प्रत्ययो डित्भवति ॥

2. An affix that begins with the augment इद् (VII. 2. 35) is ñit after the root *vi*., 'to fear, to move.'

The root विज् does not strengthen its vowel before the affixes that take the intermediate इ, because those terminations are treated like डित् affixes. The root विज् belongs to the Tudādi class. Thus उद्विजिता 'he will be agitated,' उद्विजितुम् 'for the purpose of being agitated,' उद्विजितव्यम् 'ought to be agitated.'

But those affixes, which are not preceded by the augment इद्, are not like डित्, and they consequently produce their own proper action, such as guṇation &c. As उत् + विज् + ल्युद् = उद्वेजनम्, उद्वेजनीयम् 'that which ought to be agitated.'

विभाषोर्योः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ऊर्योः । (डित्, इट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्णम् आच्छादने अस्मात्पर इडादिः प्रत्ययो विभाषा डित्भवति ॥

3. After the verb ūrna 'to cover,' the affix beginning with the augment इद् is regarded optionally like ñit.

Thus before the इडादि termination इता of the future, we may have either प्रोर्णविता or प्रोर्णविता "he will cover."

The equation of the form is:—प्र + ऊर्ण् + इ + ता = प्र + ऊर्ण्व् + इता (VI. 4. 77) = प्रोर्णविता. When the affix is not regarded as डित्, it produces guṇa, and we have the second form प्रोर्णविता ॥

Of course there is no option allowed before those affixes which do not take the augment इद्, and before those terminations, consequently, we have only one form: as प्रोर्ण् + ल्युद् = प्रोर्णो + अनस् = प्रोर्णवनस्, 'covering,' प्रोर्णवनीयम् 'which ought to be covered.'

सार्वधातुकमपित् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुकम्, अप्-इत्, (ङित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सार्वधातुकं यदपिचङिङ्भवति ॥

4. A *Sārvadhātuka* (III. 4. 113) affix not having an indicatory ण् is like णित्.

The terminations which are added to roots are either *Sārvadhātuka* or *ārdhadhātuka*. The *Sārvadhātuka* terminations are all those that are marked with a ण् and also the tense terminations called कित्, the latter are the following :—

	sing.	dual.	pl.	
3rd Pers.	तिप्	तस्	द्भि	} Parasmaipada.
2nd Pers.	सिप्	यस्	य	
1st Pers.	मिप्	वस्	मस्	
3rd Pers.	त	आताम्	भ	} Atmanepada.
2nd Pers.	थास्	आयाम्	ध्वस्	
1st Pers.	इद्	वहि	महिङ्	

Except the terminations marked with a ण् such as ति, सि and मि, &c., all the other *Sārvadhātuka* terminations are कित्. The शित् terminations like शन्, शानच्, &c., are also *Sārvadhātuka* terminations. These affixes are also कित्, unless they have a ण् as indicatory, as शप्. Thus the affix तस्, being an अपित् *Sārvadhātuka* affix, is a कित्, and before it the vowel is not gunated e. g. कुरुतः 'they two do.' The equation is :—कृ+उ+तस् (the उ is added by Rule III. 1. 79) = कर्+उ+तस् (VI. 4. 110) = कुरु+तस् = कुरुतः ॥ Similarly कुर्वन्ति 'they do.'

Here the अ of कर् is changed into उ and we have कुरु, by virtue of rule VI. 4. 110, which declares that the अ of the verb कर् is changed into उ before those *Sārvadhātuka* affixes which are कित् or कित्. Here तस् is a *Sārvadhātuka* कित् affix by the present rule, and hence the change.

These four sūtras describe the कित् terminations.

Why do we say 'a *Sārvadhātuka* affix'? Because an *ārdhadhātuka* affix, though not being marked with an indicatory ण् will not be a कित्. As कर्त्ता 'doer,' कर्तुम् 'to do,' कर्तव्यम् 'duty.'

Why do we say 'not having an indicatory ण्'? If a *Sārvadhātuka* affix has an indicatory ण् it will not be णित्. As कृ+उ+तिप् = करोति 'he does' करोषि 'thou doest,' करोमि 'I do.'

असंयोगल्लिट् कित् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ असंयोगात्, लिट्, कित्, (अपित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असंयोगान्ताद्धातोः परो लिट् प्रत्ययोऽपित् किद्भवति ॥

5. The affixes of Lit (Perfect Tense) not coming after a conjunct consonant, are as if they had an indicatory क् (kit).

With this sūtra begins the description of affixes which are regarded as कित् though not actually having a क् to mark them as such. The terminations of लिट् (Perfect) not being पित् terminations, are कित्, after verbs that have no compound consonants. The phrase अपित् (not being marked with प्) qualifies this sūtra also, being drawn from the previous sūtra by the rule of Anuvṛitti.

Thus from भिद् 'to tear' the Reduplicated non-*pit* second person perfect is बिभिदतुः 'thou hast torn.' बिभिदुः 'They have torn.'

Similarly चिच्छिदतुः 'thou hast divided'; चिच्छिदुः 'you divided'; ईजतुः and ईजुः.

This rule will not apply if the root ends in a conjunct consonant. Thus संस् 'to fall down' forms its second person Perfect:—संसस्+अतुस्=संससतुः. Here the affix is not treated as *kit*; for had it been so treated, it would have caused the elision of the penultimate nasal (anusvāra) of संस् by Rule VI. 4. 24. Similarly from ध्वस् we have दध्वसे.

The *pit* terminations of the Perfect are not *kit*; and therefore we have बिभेद 'he has divided,' where the root is gunated before the 3rd person singular termination णत् which is a पित् termination, because it being the substitute of तिप् is regarded like तिप् by I 1. 56.

इन्धिभवतिभ्यां च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इन्धि-भवतिभ्याम्, च, (लिट् कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्धिभवतीत्येताभ्यां परो लिट् प्रत्ययः किङ्कवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ *अन्यग्रन्थिदम्भिस्वङ्गीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

6. The Lit. or Perfect Tense affixes after the roots *indhi* 'to kindle,' and *bhu* 'to become,' also are *kit*.

After these two roots the terminations of the Perfect are कित्. These roots have been especially mentioned, because the root इन्धि ending in a compound consonant will not be governed by sūtra 5; and the root भू is mentioned because all the terminations of the Perfect are कित् after भू, not excepting the पित् terminations. Thus the verbs समीधे and ईधे are illustrations of Perfect Tense from the root इन्ध् as in the following examples:—समीधे दस्युहन्तमस्, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 15), and पुत्र ईधे अयर्वणः, (Rig Veda VI. 16. 14). Here the nasal of the root is dropped by regarding the affix as कित् ॥ Similarly from the root भू, we have बभूव, बभूविय ॥

Vart. :—This rule should be applied also to the verbs श्रृ 'to loosen,' संस् 'to fasten,' दंस् 'to injure' and स्वेज् 'to embrace.' As श्रेयतुः 'thou hast

loosened,' ग्रंथ+अतुस्=ग्रथ्+अतुस्. (The न् is elided by the rule already mentioned in the last sūtra, viz. VI. 4. 24).

=ग्रथ्+ग्रथ्+अतुस्=ग्रथतुः (VI. 4. 120). Similarly. भ्रेयतुः; वेभतुः, परिपस्वजे, परिपस्वजाते.

मृडमृदगुधकुषक्लिशवदवसः क्त्वा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मृड-मृद-गुध-
कुष-क्लिश-वद-वसः, क्त्वा (कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मृड मृद गुध कुष क्लिश वद वस् इत्येतेभ्यः परः क्त्वाप्रत्ययः किङ्कवति ॥

7. The affix *ktvā* is *kit* after *mrid* 'to be gracious,' *mrid* 'to squeeze,' *gudh* 'to wrap up,' *kush* 'to tear,' *klis* 'to suffer,' *vad* 'to speak' and *vas* 'to dwell.'

After these seven verbs, the gerundial *ktvā* is *kit*. It might be said, what was the necessity of this sūtra? The affix *ktvā* is clearly a *kit* affix, as it is marked with the diacritical letter क्, and it was useless to call it a *kit* affix after these verbs. The reason of this apparent repetition is this. Though *ktvā* is a *kit* affix generally; yet there is a later sūtra in this chapter (I. 2. 18) which declares that the prefix क्त्वा is not कित्, if it is preceded by the intermediate इ. Or in other words, if क्त्वा is added to those verbs, which are called सेद् verbs, viz., that take an intermediate इ, it is not then *kit*. Thus the verb शी 'to sleep' is सेद्. Therefore शी+इ+क्त्वा=शे+इ+क्त्वा=शायित्वा.

• Now it happens that all the seven verbs mentioned in the sūtra are सेद् verbs, and take an intermediate इ. The क्त्वा before these verbs would have lost its *kit*ness by virtue of sūtra 18; therefore arose the necessity of this sūtra, to provide in anticipation an exception to that sūtra, in favour of these verbs, where the affix *ktvā* is necessarily *kit*. Thus we have मृडित्वा 'being gracious,' मृदित्वा 'having squeezed,' गुधित्वा 'having wrapped' कुषित्वा 'having torn,' क्लिशित्वा 'having suffered,' उदित्वा 'having spoken,' उषित्वा 'having dwelt.' The व् of वद and वस् are changed into उ by the rule of Samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 15).

Moreover in the case of the verbs गुप्, कुप् and क्लिप्, sūtra 26 would have made क्त्वा optionally *kit*; the present sūtra makes it necessarily so.

रुदविदमुषग्रहिविस्वपिप्रच्छः संश्च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुद-विद-मुष-
ग्रह-विस्वपि-प्रच्छ-संश्च, (क्त्वा कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुद विद मुष ग्रह विस्वपि प्रच्छ इत्येतेभ्यः संश्च क्त्वा च कितौ भवतः ॥

8. The affixes *ktvā* and *san* (III. 1. 7) are *kit*, after *rud* 'to weep,' *vid* 'to know,' *mush* 'to steal,' *grah* 'to seize,' *svap* 'to sleep,' and *prachchh* 'to ask.'

After the above mentioned verbs the *ktivā* though taking an intermediate इ, and the affix सन् are कित्. The affix सन् is employed in forming desiderative verbs. The न् of सन् is इत्, the real affix being स. The root is reduplicated before this सन् affix. Thus रुदित्वा 'having cried,' रुदयिषति 'he wishes to cry'; विदित्वा 'having known,' विदयिषति 'he wishes to know'; गृहीत्वा (VI. 1. 16.) 'having taken,' गृहयिषति 'he wishes to take'; छुडित्वा 'having stolen,' छुडयिषति 'he wishes to steal'; सुप्तवा (VI. 1. 15) 'having slept,' सुप्तयिषति 'he wishes to sleep,' पृष्ट्वा (VI. 1. 16) 'having asked' पिपृच्छयिषति 'he wishes to ask.' The verb ग्रह् is changed into गृह्, स्वप् into सुप्, प्रच्छ् into पृच्छ before कित् affixes by samprasāraṇa (VI. 1. 16.)

The *ktivā* and *san* would have been optionally कित् after the verbs रुद्, विद् and सुप् by virtue of Rule 26 of this chapter, but this sūtra makes them necessarily so, after these three verbs. In the case of the verb ग्रह्, these affixes are कित् by virtue of this sūtra only. In the case of the verbs स्वप् and प्रच्छ् the affix त्वा is of course कित्, because these two verbs are aniṭ, that is, they do not take the intermediate इ; and therefore the त्वा being directly affixed to them, and rule 18 not applying, the indicatory & would make it कित्. In reference to these verbs, therefore, the present sūtra teaches something new, only with regard to the affix सन्, by making that also कित्. The verb प्रच्छ् takes the intermediate इ when the affix सन् follows, by virtue of sūtra VII. 2. 75.

इको भल् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ इकः, भल् (सन्, कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्ताद्यातोः परो झलादिः सन् किञ्चनति ॥

9. The affix *san* beginning with a letter of the *Pratyāhāra jhal* is like *kit*, after verbs ending in *ik* vowels.

In this sūtra there is the *anuvṛitti* of सन् only and not of त्वा. The sūtra literally translated means:—"After *ik* the *jhal*." The *Pratyāhāra* इक् contains the four letters इ, उ, ऋ, ए. The *Pratyāhāra* झल् contains all the consonants, except the nasals and the liquids. After the verbs ending in इक् the desiderative suffix सन् is कित्, when it is झलादि, that is to say when the affix सन् does not take the intermediate इ. The affix सन् is an affix [which begins with स् a letter of the झल् class. But if the intermediate इ is added before it, it is no longer a झलादि affix, and in that case it is not कित्. Thus from जि 'to conquer,' which is a verb ending in इक्, we have जिगीषति 'he wishes to conquer,' यु 'to mix' युयूषति; so also कृ 'to do,' चिकीर्षति, वृ 'to cross' वित्तीर्षति, भू 'to be' भुभूषति.

If however, verbs ending in इ or उ or ऋ or ए, take an intermediate इ, they likewise take guṇa. As:—स्मि 'to smile' takes guṇa, and makes its desiderative सिस्मयिषति.

The झलदि सन् is not *kit* after verbs ending in any other letter than the इक्. As पिपासति (from पा) 'he wishes to drink.' So from ह्या we have तिष्ठासति.

The object of making the affix सन् *kit* affix after verbs ending in *ik* vowels, is to prevent the guṇa of the vowel of the root, as in चिचीषति 'wishes to collect', तुष्टुषति 'wishes to praise.' To this it might be objected "this cannot be: for rule VI. 4. 16 (when सन् beginning with a *jhal*, i.e., not preceded by the augment इद् follows, a long vowel is the substitute of verbs ending in a vowel, and of the verbs इन् and गन्) would prevent guṇa by substituting long vowel." To this it may be replied: "if rule VI. 4. 16, enjoining long vowel, debars rule VII. 3. 84 requiring guṇa, it should *a fortiori* debar rule VI. 4. 51 which requires the elision of the affix णि before Ardha-dhātuka affixes not taking the augment इद्. But evidently that is not so; for the elision of णि is not debarred by VI. 4. 16. Therefore, the present sūtra is made, so that even by giving scope to the rule of lengthening, the affix सन् be treated as कित्." Thus in चिचीषति scope is given to rule VI. 4. 16, and the vowel is lengthened. But this rule in its turn will be debarred in those cases where rule VI. 4. 51 will apply: in such cases the maxim contained in I. 4. 2 is our guide, and a subsequent rule will debar a prior rule of Pāṇini when both find their scope in a single case. Thus in forming the desiderative of the verb जप् 'to inform,' both the rules VI. 4. 16 and VI. 4. 51 present themselves, but the latter prevails. The verb जप् belongs to the churādi class of verbs, and takes the affix णिच्. Thus जप् + णिच् + सन् + तिप्; here the present sūtra comes into force, and सन् being treated as कित्, the guṇa of the इ of जप्ति is prevented. Thus sūtra VII. 3. 84 requiring guṇa being set aside, sūtra VI. 4. 51 comes into play, and causes the elision of णिच् and we have जप् + स + ति = जीप्सति (VII. 4. 55 आ changed to ई) 'he wishes to inform.'

हलन्ताच्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्-अन्तात्, च, (इक्, सन्, भल्, कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तादिक्समीपाद्भलः परः सन् भलादिः किङ्कवति ॥

10. And after a root ending in a consonant, and preceded by a vowel of the *pratyāhara ik*, the affix *san* beginning with a *jhal* consonant, is like *kit*.

Thus from भिद् 'to pierce' we have बिभित्सति 'he wishes to break,' here the root भिद् contains the *ik* vowel इ; it ends in a consonant द्; the affix सन् is directly added without taking an intermediate इ, and therefore it fulfils all the conditions of the sūtra; and the vowel is not guṇated.

If the final consonant of the verb is not preceded by a vowel of the *ik* class, the affix सन् is not *kit* after such a verb. As यज् + सन् + ते = यियच्छते 'wishes to sacrifice.' Had the affix सन् been here a *kit* affix, there would have been samprasāraṇa by rule VI. 1. 16 which declares that there is samprasāraṇa of the verbs वच्, स्वप्, and यज् &c., before *kit* affixes.

If the *san* takes the intermediate इ and is then no longer a भलादि सन् it is not *kit*; and causes guṇation *etcetera*. As इत् + इ + सन् = विवर्तिषते 'he desires to be.' Here there is guṇa of *ri*.

Roots like दम्भ्, तृह् &c., are governed by this rule, though they end in conjunct consonants, for the word हल् of the sūtra means *jāti* or class; thus दम्भ् + सन् + तिप् = दम्भ् + सति (VI. 4. 24, the *m* being elided by treating सन् as कित्) = धीप्सति or धिप्सति (VII. 4. 56).

लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्-सिचौ, आत्मनेपदेषु

(हलन्तात् इक भल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगन्तादिक्समीपाद्भलः परौ झलादी लिङ्सिचौ आत्मनेपदेषु परतः कितौ भवतः ॥

11. After roots ending in a consonant, that adjoins a vowel of *ik* pratyāhāra, the substitutes of *lin* (III. 3. 161) and *sich* (III. 1. 44) when they begin with a consonant of *jhal* pratyāhāra, are *kit*, when the ātmanepada affixes follow.

The sūtra consists of two words लिङ्सिचौ and आत्मनेपदेषु, literally meaning "the affixes *lin* and *sich* in the Atmanepada." The other phrases, given in the above text must be supplied from the previous sūtras, to complete the sense. The *anuvṛtti* of the word सन्, that began with sūtra 8, does not extend further. As:—भिस्सीट 'may he break' and भुस्सीट 'may he know,' अभिन्न 'he broke,' अबुद्ध 'he knew.'

Thus the root भिद् ends with a simple consonant, is preceded by इ a letter of *ik* pratyāhāra; after this root the *jhalādi* affix सीट् of Benedictive in the Atmanepada is treated like कित्; therefore there is no guṇa substitution of the vowel of the root before this affix. भिद् + सीट् = भिस्सीट्. Similarly in the Aorist we have अभिन्न = अ + भिद् + सिच् + त, the त् of the Aorist being elided by VIII. 2. 26. So also बुद् + सीट् = भुत् + सीट् (VIII. 2. 37) = भुस्सीट्.

If the final consonant is not preceded by an *ik* vowel, this rule will not apply. Thus Ben. यज् + सीट् = यप् + सीट् (VIII. 2. 36) = यक् + सीट् (VIII. 2. 41) = यत्सीट् (VIII. 3. 58). Similarly its Aorist is अयट्. Had the affixes सीट् and त् been *kit*, they would have caused samprasāraṇa of य by VI. 1. 16.

This rule will not apply, if the Benedictive and Aorist affixes are Parasmaipadi. Thus the Aorist of सूज् 'to let off,' is अ + सूज् + सीत् = अ + सू + अ + ज् + सीत् (VI. 1. 58) = अज्ज + सीत् (VI. 1. 77) = अजासीत् (VII. 2. 1). Similarly from दृश् we have Aorist Parasmaipadi अद्राक्षित्. Had the Aorist been कित्, rule VI. 1. 58 (अम् is the augment of the verbs सूज् and दृश् when an affix beginning with a *jhal* and not having an indicative क् follows), would not have applied.

This rule will also not apply, if the verb ends in a vowel. Thus of the verb चि, we have Ben. चेष्टि, Aor. अचेष्ट. Had the affixes been कित्, there would have been no guṇa substitution of *i* into *e*.

The rule will not apply, if these affixes are not *jhalādi*, but take the augment इद्. Thus Ben. वृत् + इषीष्ट = वरिषीष्ट, so also Aorist अवर्षित्. Had they been कित्, there would have been no guṇa substitution.

This rule, of course, is confined to the Benedictive and the Aorist. Other tenses will not be affected by this rule. Thus the 1st and 2nd Future of द्विष् is द्वेष्टा and द्वेष्टयति.

उश्च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उः, च, (लिङ्सिचौ आत्मनेपदेषु भल कित्)

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवर्णान्ताद्भातोः परौ लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु भलादी कितौ भवतः ॥

12. And after verbs ending in ऋ, the substitutes of *lin* and the affix *sich*, are *kit*, when they begin with *jhal*, and the Atmanepada affixes follow.

As from कृ 'to do' the benedictive is कृषीष्ट 'may he do.' So also सिच्, as अकृत 'he did.' So also वृषीष्ट and अकृत.

Of course this rule would not apply if these terminations take the intermediate इ; as वृ + इषीष्ट = वरिषीष्ट 'may he choose,' (Benedictive); अ + वृ + इष्ट = अवर्षिष्ट or अवरीष्ट 'he chose or covered,' the इ being lengthened by VII. 2. 38.

वा गमः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, गमः, (लिङ्सिचौ, आत्मनेपदेषु भल कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्भातोः परौ लिङ्सिचावात्मनेपदेषु झलादी वा कितौ भवतः ॥

13. Optionally after the verb *gam*, the *lin* and *sich* beginning with *jhal* consonants, in the Atmanepada, are *kit*.

The verb गम् 'to go' is Atmanepadi after the preposition सम् by Rule I. 3. 29.

The result of its being *kit* is that the nasal is dropped in the Atmanepada, in forming the Aorist with सिच्, and the Benedictive. Thus we have

the forms :—संगसीष्ट or संगसीष्ट in the Benedictive ; and समगत or समगस्त in the *sich* Aorist. These forms are thus evolved :—

सम् + गम् + सीष्ट = सम् + ग + सीष्ट (VI. 4. 37) = संगसीष्ट 'may he combine.' Here the nasal स् of गम् is elided by treating the affix सीष्ट as कित् by Rule VI. 4. 37. In the alternative we have संगससीष्ट.

So in the aorist सम् + गम् + सिच् + त = सम् + अद् + गम् + त (VI. 4. 37) = समगत. The सिच् being elided by VIII. 2. 27 (after a short inflective base, there is elision of सिच्, if a *jhal* follows). So when स् of गम् is elided by VI. 4. 37, there remains only ग which is a base ending in short अ, hence, the elision of सिच्. But in the alternative we have समगस्त.

हनः सिच् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, सिच् । (कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्धातोः परः सिच् किञ्चवति ॥

14. The *sich* Atmanepada affixes are *kit* after the root *han* 'to kill.'

As आहत, आहसाताम्, आहसत are the aorist of हन्. When a सिच् or second aorist is *kit* the verb loses its nasal, by Rule VI. 4. 37. After the verb हन् the सिच् is only *kit* and not the Benedictive लिङ् terminations, as was the case in the previous sūtra; hence the repetition of the word *sich* in this sūtra. The sūtras 12 and 13 were governed both by लिङ् and सिच्; from and after this sūtra, the governing power of लिङ् ceases. The governing power of the word "Atmanepada" in sūtra 11 does not however cease, and its anuvṛitti runs through the succeeding sūtras; though as regards this sūtra, its anuvṛitti is redundant, inasmuch as before the Parasmaipada terminations, the root हन् is always replaced by वध् in the aorist, there is no necessity of making the affix *sich* a *kit*. For the object served in making *sich*, *kit*, after the verb हन्, is to elide the nasal, while in the case of वध्, no such purpose can be served.

यमो गन्धने ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ यमः, गन्धने, (सिच् आत्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यमेर्धातोर्गन्धने वृत्तमानान्तरः सिच् प्रत्ययः कित् भवति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

15. The affix *sich* before Atmanepada affixes, is *kit* after the verb *yam*, when meaning 'to divulge.'

The word *gandhana* means 'to divulge,' 'to make known that which had been concealed.' The verb यम् has various meanings.

The result of *kit* is that the nasal is elided. The verb यम् becomes Atmanepada when preceded by the preposition आद् by rule I. 3. 28. Thus उत् + आ + यम् + त = उदायत = 'he divulged,' उदायसाताम्, उदायसत, the *sich* is elided by VIII. 2. 27 and स् by VI. 4. 37. When the verb यम् has any other meaning than 'to divulge,' then the सिच् in the Atmanepada is not *kit*; as उदायस्त पादम् 'he raised the foot,' So also उदायस्त कूपादुदकम् 'he raised water from the

well.' Though here the verb *yam* is in the transitive form and takes an object after it, yet it is Atmanepadi by Rule I. 3. 75 which declares "after the verb *yam* to strive, preceded by स्, उत् and आङ् when it does not refer to a book, the Atmanepada is employed."

विभाषोपयमने ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उपयमने, (यमः सिच् आत्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यमेर्धातोरुपयमने वर्त्तमानात् परः सिच् प्रत्ययो विभाषा किङ्गवति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

16. The *sich* before âtmanepada affixes is *kit* optionally, when *yam* means 'to espouse.'

Thus उपायत कन्याम् or उपायंस्त कन्याम् 'he espoused the girl,' उपायत or उपायंस्त भार्याम् 'he espoused his wife.'

The word 'Upayamana' in the sūtra means 'to accept in marriage,' 'to espouse.' The verb यम् preceded by the preposition उप is Atmanepadi when it means 'to espouse' by Rule 1. 3. 56.

स्थाच्चेरिच्च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था, च्वोः, इत्, च (सिजात्मनेपदेषु कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्ठतेर्धातोः घुसंज्ञकानाञ्च इकारश्चान्तदेशः सिच्च किङ्गवति आत्मनेपदेषु परतः ॥

17. The affix *sich* before Atmanepada affixes, is *kit* after *sthâ* "to stand" and *ghu* (I. 1. 20) verbs, and these verbs change their आ into इ before these terminations.

The roots स्था 'to stand,' दा 'to give,' धा 'to place,' दै 'to pity,' धे 'to feed,' दो 'to cut' change their vowels into इ before the terminations of the Aorist of the Atmanepada; and those terminations are also *kit*. As उपास्थियत, 'he worshipped', उपास्थिवाताम्, उपास्थियत; अदित 'he gave', अधित 'he fed.'

न क्वा सेट् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क्वा, सेट्, (कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्त्वाप्रत्ययः सेट् न किङ्गवति ॥

18. The affix *ktrâ* when it takes the augment इद् (i. e. when it is *sét*.) is not *kit*.

We had had occasion to refer to this sūtra in explaining sūtra 7. The affix *ktrâ* (the actual affix being *tvâ*, the *k* being merely *it* or indicative letter) is on the face of it a *kit* affix. This sūtra however limits its kitness to cases where it is not *sét*. If it is *sét*, i. e. has before it the intermediate इ it will not be treated like a *kit* affix. Thus in कृत्वा, हुत्वा, the affix स्त्वा is added directly to the root कृ 'to do' and हु 'to sacrifice,' without an intermediate इ and therefore the root has not been gunated, the affix here being *kit*. But in

स्वेदित्वा, देवित्वा, वर्तित्वा, from स्विद्, दिव् and वृत् 'to sweat,' 'to shine,' 'to be,' the affix is not *kit*, because there is an intermediate इ before त्वा and the root has been consequently gunated.

Of course this sūtra relates to त्वा *ktvā* only. Other affixes though having an intermediate इ will be treated as *kit*, if they have an indicatory क्. Thus the affix कित् (III. 3. 94) by which feminine nouns are formed from roots is a कित् affix. This affix when सेद्, will remain कित्, as नि+मह्+इद्+कित्=नि+गृह्+इ+ति (VI. 1. 16)=निगृहीति: (VII 2. 37). Here there is samprasāraṇa by treating *ktin* as *kit*. So also in उपस्निहिति: and निङ्कुचिति: there is no guṇa. After मह् &c., the affix कित् takes the augment इद् by a Vārtika under sūtra VII. 2, 9 which see.

निष्ठा शीङ्स्विदिमिदिक्ष्विदिधृषः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, शीङ्-स्विदि-मिदि-क्ष्विदि-धृषः (न, सेट्, कित्)

वृत्तिः ॥ शीङ् स्विदि मिदि क्ष्विदि धृष् इत्येतेभ्यः परो निष्ठा प्रत्ययः सेण् न किङ्कवति ॥

19. The *sét* Nishthâ affixes are not *kit* after the verbs *s'î* 'to lie down,' *svid* 'to sweat,' *mid* 'to melt,' *kshvid* 'to be unctuous,' and *dh.rish* 'to offend.'

The Nishthâs are *kta* and *ktavatu* (see sūtra 26, Chapter I). They are obviously *kit* affixes. But in the case of the above five roots they are not *kit*, and the vowels take guṇa. Thus शयितः slept, शयितवान्, प्रस्वेदितः, प्रमेदितः, प्रक्ष्वेदितः; प्रस्वेदितवान्, प्रमेदितवान्, प्रक्ष्वेदितवान्, प्रधर्षितः, प्रधर्षितवान् &c. In all the above roots the Nishthâ affixes are also *sét*.

The roots स्विद् (अग्निदा), मिद् (अग्निदा), क्षिद् (अग्निदा) and धृष् (अग्निदा) have all long आ as indicatory, as well as the syllable अग्नि. These roots therefore by Rule VII. 2. 16 are generally *aniṭ*, and consequently beyond the scope of the *operation* of the present sūtra. As स्विन्नः, स्विन्नवान्. But when the Nishthâ affixes denote 'a state or condition, bhāva,' or 'beginning of action,' then the above four roots optionally become *sét*. (VII. 2. 17). It is in that case that the present sūtra is applicable to them.

मृषस्तितिक्षायाम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ मृषः, तितिक्षायाम् (निष्ठा सेट् न कित्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ मृषेर्धातोः तितिक्षायामर्थे निष्ठासेण् न किङ्कवति ॥

20. The *sét* Nishthâ is not *kit* after the verb *mrish* when meaning 'to forbear.'

Thus मर्षितः 'forborne', मर्षितवान् 'forbore.'

Why do we say 'when meaning to forbear?' When it has not this sense, the *sét* nishthâ will be कित्. As अप्रमृषितं वाक्यमाह 'he spoke unintelligible language.'

उदुपधाद्भावादिकर्मणोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्-उपधात्,
भाव-आदि-कर्मणाः, अन्यतरस्याम् (निष्ठा सेण् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदुपधाद्भातोः परो भावे आदिकर्मणि च वर्त्तमानो निष्ठाप्रत्ययः सेडन्यतरस्यां न
किङ्कवति ॥

21. The *sét Nishthâ* is optionally not *kit*, after the verbs with a penultimate ङ if used impersonally or denoting the beginning of action.

According to some the *sét Nishthâ* suffixes are not *kit* after the verbs having a penultimate ङ if those verbs are used impersonally (*bhâva*) or denote the beginning of action (*âdi-karman*). Thus श्रुत् 'to shine', श्रुतितमनेन or श्रोतितमनेन 'it has been lighted.' Similarly प्रद्योतितः or प्रद्युतितः 'he first illumined.' The word penultimate or *upadhâ* has been defined in *sûtra* 65 ante.

If the verb has any other vowel than ङ as penultimate, then the rule does not apply. As लिखितमनेन 'written by him.' Here इ is penultimate; and therefore no option is allowed.

This rule has no application where the *Nishthâ* does not express either भाव 'condition' or 'Impersonal action'; or आदिकर्म 'beginning of action', but is used as a verbal adjective. As रुचितं कार्षापणं ददाति 'he gives a shining coin (called *kârshâpana*).' Here the word रुचित 'shining' is used as adjective.

The rule applies to the *Nishthâ* which takes the intermediate इ and not to others as प्रभुक्त ओदनः 'the rice that has been eaten.' Here no option is allowed.

This optional form of past participle is restricted in its scope. Those verbs which take the *vikarâṇa* ङप् *i.e.*, the verbs of the *Bhu* class &c., admit of this option. Thus शुष् 'to wrap up' belongs to *Divâdi* class, and therefore, its participle has one form only as शुषितं.

पूङः क्वा च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङः, क्वा , च (सेट्, कित्, न निष्ठा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूङः परो निष्ठा प्रत्ययः क्वा च सेण् न किङ्कवति ॥

22. The *sét Nishthâ* and the *sét ktvâ* are not *kit* after the verb पून् 'to purify.'

The word 'optionally' of the previous *sûtra* 21 does not govern this *sûtra*, because the word 'optionally' has been again used in the next *sûtra* 23; of which there would have been no necessity had the word 'optionally' governing force in this *sûtra*, for then this would have also governed the next *sûtra*. The *anuvṛiti* of न सेट् however is to be read in this *sûtra*.

By rule VII. 2. 51, after the verb पू the affixes Nishṭhā and क्त्वा *ktvā* take the intermediate इ. So that क्त्वा *ktvā* being *sét* (by virtue of Rule VII. 2. 51) would have been non-kit by Rule 18; and it might be asked what is the necessity of repeating it in this sūtra, when sūtra 18 comprised the case. The reason of this repetition is that by mentioning क्त्वा *ktvā* in this sūtra, it has governing force over the succeeding sūtras. As पवितः, पवितवान्.

नोपधात् थफान्ताद्वा ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-उपधात्-थ-फ-अन्तात्-
वा (क्त्वा सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नकारोपधाद्वातोस्यकारान्तात्फकारान्ताच्च परः क्त्वा प्रत्ययः सेट् वा न किञ्चवति ॥

23. The *sét ktvā* is optionally *kit*, after the verbs having a penultimate न् and ending in थ and फ्.

The *sét ktvā* may or may not be *kit* after the verbs ending in थ् or फ् preceded by a nasal. The result of being *kit* will be that nasal will be dropped. In other words the dropping of the nasal is optional in such verbs. Thus from म्रंथ् we have म्रथित्वा or म्रन्थित्वा 'having twisted,' गुंथित्वा or गुन्थित्वा 'having tied round,' अथित्वा or अन्थित्वा.

The word "Nishṭhā" does not govern this sūtra, and comes to an end with the last sūtra.

This rule does not apply to verbs that have not a penultimate न् though they may end in थ् or फ्. As रेषित्वा 'having reviled,' मोक्षित्वा 'having tied.' Here by rule 18, the त्वा *tvā* being non-kit, the vowels of the root रिष् and गुष् have been gunated.

A verb may have a penultimate न्, but if it has not final थ् or फ्, the rule does not apply. As संस् + इत्वा = संसित्वा 'having dropped,' ध्वंसित्वा 'having killed.' Had it been *kit*, the nasal would have been dropped.

वञ्चिलुञ्जत्यृतश्च ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वञ्चि-लुञ्चि-चि-अन्तः, च, (क्त्वा सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वञ्चि लुञ्चि कृत् इत्येतेभ्यः परः क्त्वा प्रत्ययः सेट् वा न किञ्चवति ॥

24. The *sét ktvā* is optionally *kit*, after the verbs *vañch* 'to cheat' *luñch* 'to pluck' and *rit* 'to dare or abhor.'

After the above three verbs, the *ktvā* affix being *sét*, may or may not be *kit*. As वञ्चित्वा or वञ्चित्वा 'having cheated.' So also लुञ्चित्वा or लुञ्चित्वा 'having plucked,' कृतित्वा or कृतित्वा 'having dared.'

When the verb कृत् *rit* takes the affix ईयङ् it is not governed by this sūtra. See sūtra III, 1. 29.

When the *ktvâ* is not *sét*, but *ani*, then there is no option allowed.
As वच् + त्वा = वत्त्वा.

तृषिमृषिकृशोः काश्यपस्य ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृषि-मृषि-कृशोः,
काश्यपस्य, (क्वा सेट् न कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृषि मृषि कृषि इत्येतेभ्यः परः त्वा प्रत्ययः सेट् काश्यपस्याचार्यस्य मते वा न
किञ्चनति ॥

25. The *sét ktvâ* is optionally *kit*, according to the opinion of Rishi Kâs'yapa, after the verbs *trish* 'to be thirsty,' *mrish* 'to sprinkle,' and *kris* 'to become lean.'

As तृषित्वा or तर्षित्वा 'having thirsted,' मृषित्वा or मर्षित्वा 'having sprinkled,' कृषित्वा or कर्षित्वा 'having become lean.' By sūtra 18, the *sét ktvâ* is never *kit*. This sūtra adds another exception to that general rule.

The special mention of Kâsyapa is for the sake of showing respect. The वा is already understood in this sūtra by Anuvṛtti from sūtra 23.

रलो व्युपधाद्गलादेः संश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रलः, उ-इ-उपधाद्,
हल्-आदेः, सन्, च (वासेट् कित्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारोपधादिकारोपधाच्चधातो रलन्ताद्गलादेः परः संश्च त्वाच सेटो वा कितो
भवतः ॥

26. After a verb which begins with a consonant, and ends in a letter of *Ral pratyâhâra*, and has as its penultimate इ or ई, उ or ऊ, the *ktvâ* and *san* affixes are optionally *kit*.

The wording of this sūtra requires a little explanation. It consists of the following words :—

1. रलः *ralah*, ablative of रल् (after the consonants included in the *Pratâyâhara ral* i.e., all the consonants except य *y* and व *v*) :—Verbs having their final letter any single consonant except य *y* and व *v*.

2. व्युपधाद् means "after penultimate वी." It is a compound of वी + उपधा. The वी itself is a compound of उ + इ = वि, in the dual वी. Therefore the phrase means "after (verbs) having for their penultimate either इ *i* or उ *u* long or short."

3. हलादेः means "beginning with a consonant."

All these three words qualify the word "verb" understood.

4. संश्च means "and *san*."

The sūtra means, those verbs which have a रल् letter in the end, a हल् in the beginning, and an इ, ई or उ, ऊ in their penultimate, may optionally treat the affixes *ktvâ* and *san* as कित्.

Thus द्युन् 'to shine,' makes द्युतित्वा or द्योतित्वा 'having shone,' लिख् 'to write' makes लिखित्वा or लेखित्वा.

Similarly in *san* affix we have लिलिखिषति or लिलेखिषति 'he wishes to write,' दिद्युतिषते or दियोतिषते 'he wishes to shine.'

The rule does not apply if the verb ends in a letter other than रन्. As दिव् + त्वा = देवित्वा; its desiderative will be दिदेविषति. No option is allowed here.

Similarly there is no option when the penultimate vowel is not इ or उ. As वृत् + त्वा = वर्तित्वा. Des. विवर्तिषते.

The rule also does not apply if the verb does not begin with a consonant. As एषित्वा and एषिषति. There is no option allowed here.

The rule does not apply if the त्वा and सन् are *aniti*. As भुत्त्वा, बुभुक्षते.

In these 26 sūtras the description of affixes which are treated like कित् and कित् is comprised.

ऊकालोऽङ् ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊकालः अच्, ह्रस्व-दीर्घ-प्लुतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उ ऊ ऋ इत्येवं कालोऽङ् यथाक्रमं ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुत इत्येवं संज्ञो भवति ॥

27. A vowel whose time is that of short *u*, long *ū* and the prolated *u*, is called respectively *hrasva* short, *dirgha* long, and *pluta* prolated.

The उ *u* having one mātrā or measure is short, having two measures is long, having three measures is pluta. This sūtra defines the three kinds of vowels according to their mātrā. The letter ऊ *ū* has been taken to illustrate the rule. The phrase ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः is a Dvandva compound, in the Singular, and is exhibited in the masculine gender, contrary to the general rule II. 4. 17.

The word *kāla* means measure of time required for pronouncing a vowel.

As इधि 'curd', मधु 'honey'. Here इ and उ are short. कुमारी, गौरी, here ई is long. देवदत्ताङ् अन्वास Devadatta! Here आ *a* is pluta or prolated.

These words are used in the following sūtras: I, 2. 47; VII. 4. 25; VIII. 2. 82.

अचश्च ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः च, (ह्रस्व दीर्घ प्लुतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रस्व दीर्घ प्लुताः स्वसंज्ञायाश्चिन्त्यमाणा अचएवस्थाने वेदितव्याः ॥

28. The short, long, and prolated, when enunciated as such, by using these terms, are to be understood to come in the place of vowels only.

This is a paribhāṣā sūtra, and declares the object to which the terms 'short,' 'long' and 'prolated' are to be applied. When in this book 'short'

'long' or 'prolated' are taught by using the words *hrasva*, *dirgha* or *pluta*, they must be understood to apply to vowels. As will be found in the sūtra I. 2. 47.¹ "there is the substitution of *hrasva* or short in the neuter gender of the crude-form." The word 'vowel' must be inserted in this sūtra to complete the sense. That is:—the *hrasva* is substituted for the final *vowel* of the crude-form. As ऐ अतिदि, नौ अतिदु, गा उपगु.

The substitution must take the place of vowel and not consonant. As सुवाग् ब्राह्मणकुलम्.

Similarly sūtra VII. 4. 25² teaches "There is the substitution of *dirgha* or 'long vowel' before all affixes beginning with the letter य्, except *krit* and *Sārvadhātuka* affixes." Here also the word 'vowel' must be read into the sūtra which will then be "of an inflective base ending in a vowel, the long vowel shall be the substitute &c." As चि + यङ् + त = चीयते 'it is collected'; श्रु + य + त = श्रूयते 'it is heard.' Why do we say "in the place of vowels only"? The substitution must take place in the room of a vowel and not of a consonant. As भिद् + य + ते = भिद्यते 'it is divided,' छिद्यते it is pierced.

So also in the case of *pluta* substitution. Thus rules VIII. 2. 82 and 84,³ declare that in calling from a distance, *pluta* is substituted for the दि portion of the word in the vocative. (The word दि is defined in I. 1. 64). Here also the phrase 'of the vowel' must be read into the sūtra to complete the sense. The sūtra will then read:—"Pluta is substituted in the place of the vowel of the दि &c." Thus देवदत्तः, O Devadatta! यज्ञदत्तः O Yajñadatta!

Why do we say "in the place of vowels only"? The substitution must be in the place of the vowel of the दि and not of the consonant. As अग्निचिश्त्, सोमसुश्त्. Here the syllables इत् and उत् are दि, and the vowels इ and उ have been prolated and not the consonant त्.

The substitution must be enunciated as such by using the terms, *hrasva*, *dirgha*, and *pluta*. Therefore it is not so here; द्यौः, पन्थाः, सः, युभ्याम्, युभिः See I. 1. 4,

उच्चैरुदात्तः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्चैः, उदात्तः, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्चैरुपलभ्यमानो योअच् स उदात्तसंज्ञो भवति ॥

29. The vowel that is perceived as having a high tone is called *Udātta* or acutely accented.

With this sūtra begins the description of the three sorts of vowel accents. The accent placed on a vowel by raising the voice is called *udātta* or *acute* accent. As अग्निः *agniḥ*, here *i* has the acute accent. The *udātta* is not marked

(¹) ह्रस्वो नर्पुसके प्रातिपदिकस्य ॥

(²) अकृत्स्नार्वाधनुकथेर्दीर्घः ॥

(³) वाक्यस्यदेः

प्लुत उदात्तः ॥ दूराद्धूतेच ॥

in writing. The word 'vowel' of the previous sūtra is understood in this also. These accents are the qualities of letters, and are well known in the sacred and secular literature. The vowel which is perceived as having a high tone is called udātta. This tone depends upon the organ from which the vowel is pronounced. In the various organs, such as the throat, palate, &c., if a vowel is pronounced from a higher part of that organ, it is called udātta. The vowel in the pronouncing of which there is the restraining and checking of the bodily parts, and in which there is dryness and roughness of tone as well as a contraction of the larynx, is said to have the acute accent. The word is used in sūtra III. 1. 3.¹ "The first vowel of an affix has the udātta accent." As कृ + तव्यम् = कर्तव्यम् kartavyam.

नीचैरनुदात्तः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नीचैः, अनुदात्तः, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नीचैरुपलभ्यमानो योऽच् सोनुदात्तसंज्ञो भवति ॥

30. The vowel that is perceived as having a low tone is called *Anudātta* or gravely accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood in this sūtra. As अग्निः agnīḥ, here अ has the grave accent. The vowel accent known as grave or anudātta is pronounced by lowering the voice. In writing, the anudātta is marked by a line underneath the vowel. The vowel which is uttered from the lower portions of its special place of pronunciation gets the grave accent.

This word is used in sūtra III. 1. 4.² "the case terminations called सुप् and those affixes that have an indicative प् are anudātta" &c. As त्वयः, बोधामि,

In pronouncing an anudātta vowel, there is slackening of the organs, and mildness, as well as softness and sweetness of tone : while there is expansion and widening of the larynx.

समाहारः स्वरितः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ समाहारः, स्वरितः (अच्, उदात्तः, अनुदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तानुदात्तस्वरसमाहारो योऽच् स स्वरितसंज्ञो भवति ॥

31. The vowel that has the combination of *Udātta* and *Anudātta* tones is said to be *svarita* or circumflexly accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood here also. The svarita or circumflexed accent is pronounced by the combined raising and falling of the voice. It is marked by a perpendicular line on the top of the letter,

The word is used in sūtra VI. 1. 185.³ "The affixes having an indicative त् have svarita accent." As कन्या kanyā, शिष्यम् s'ikyām, क्व kvā.

(¹) आद्युदात्तश्च ॥ (²) अनुदात्तौ सुप्पितौ ॥ (³) तित्स्वरितम् ॥

This sūtra is not to be understood to mean that a *svarita* is the resultant of the combination of two vowels, an *udatta* vowel with an *anudatta* vowel. It means the accent midway between the two well-known qualities of letters known as *acute* and *grave* accents.

तस्यादित उदात्तमर्द्धह्रस्वम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, आदितः ,
उदात्तम्, अर्द्धह्रस्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्य स्वरितस्य आदावर्द्धह्रस्वद्विदात्तम् भवति ॥

32. Of it (*svarita*) the first portion is *udatta*, to the extent of a half measure, of prosodial length.

It has been defined that *svarita* accent is a combination of *udatta* and *anudatta*. It remained doubtful what portion was acute and what grave. The present sūtra clears up the difficulty, by declaring that in *svarita*, the first half is acute and the other grave.

The phrase *ardhahrasva* is used to indicate half the measure of a short vowel. Thus if a short vowel is *svarita*, its *mātrā* being one, half will be *udatta* and the other half *anudatta*. If a long vowel, whose *mātrās* are two, be *svarita* then $\frac{1}{2}$ will be *udatta*, $1\frac{1}{2}$ will be *anudatta*. If a *pluta* (protracted) vowel be *svarita*, then first half measure will be *udatta*, and the remaining $2\frac{1}{2}$ measures will be *anudatta*. In short, the *udatta* portion of a *svarita* must not occupy more time than is taken in pronouncing a half short vowel. Thus in *सिक्क्यम्* *s'ikyam*, the *a* is *svarita*, half being acute, the other half grave or monotony; in *कन्या* *kanyā*, the long *ā* is *svarita*, its first half measure is acute, the remaining $1\frac{1}{2}$ is grave; in *मानवका* *mānavakā*, here *a* prolated is *svarita*, its first $\frac{1}{2}$ is acute, the balance $2\frac{1}{2}$ measure is grave.

एकश्रुतिदूरात्सम्बुद्धौ ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एकश्रुति, दूरात्, सम्बुद्धौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकश्रुति वाक्यं भवति दूरात्सम्बुद्धौ सति ॥

33. In addressing a person from a distance, the tone is called *Ekas'ruti* or monotony.

Monotony or *Ekas'ruti* is that tone which is perceived when a person is addressed; in it there is an absence of all the three tones mentioned above; and there is no definite pitch in it. It is, therefore, the ordinary recitative tone.

The word '*Sambuddhi*' means here addressing a person from a distance; and has not its technical meaning of the singular number of the vocative case. As *आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्ता* 'O boy Devadatta! come.' There is vanishing of all the accents in the above case; and the final short vowel of *Devadatta* is changed into *pluta* by the rule already referred to in s. 28 ante VIII. 2. 84 (प्लुताच्चेव) ॥

If the person is not addressed from a distance, then the word will get its proper accent. As आगच्छ भो माणवक देवदत्त 'come, O boy Devadatta.'

यज्ञकर्मण्यजपन्यूङ्खसामसु ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञ-कर्मणि, अज-
प-न्यूङ्ख-सामसु, (एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जपन्यूङ्खसामानि वर्जयित्वा यज्ञकर्मणि मन्त्राणामैकश्रुत्यं भवति ॥

34. In sacrificial works, there is Monotony, except in *japa* (silent repetition of a formula), Nyûnkha vowels (sixteen sorts of om) and the *Sâma* vedas.)

In "sacrificial works" or on occasions of sacrifice, the mantras of the Veda are recited in Ekas'ruti or monotony. But on occasions of ordinary reading, the mantras are to be recited with their proper three-fold accents.

"Japa" is the repetition of mantras, and their recitation in a low voice or whisper. Nyûnkha is the name of certain hymns of the veda, and the names of 16 sorts of "Om." Some of these are pronounced with udâtta and others with anudâtta accent. Sâmas are songs, or the musical cadence in which some vedic hymns are to be uttered. As:—अग्निर्मूर्धादिवः क्रुक्त्पतिः पृथिव्या अयम् । अपाम् रेतांसि जिप्सतोश्च ॥ (Rig Veda VIII. 14. 16).

When a mantra is recited as a *japa*, then it must be pronounced with accents :—As ममाग्ने वचो विहवेष्वास्तु (Rig Veda X. 128. 1).

When not employed on occasions of sacrifice, but are ordinarily read, the mantras must have their proper accent, and there will be no Ekas'ruti.

In the *sâma* chanting, the mantras should have their accent, there can be no Ekas'ruti there. As एष्विदं समञ्जिणं वहाश्च । Here there is no Ekas'ruti.

उच्चैस्तरां वा वषट्कारः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्चैस्तराम्, वा,
वषट्कारः, (यज्ञकर्मणि, एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञकर्मणि वषट्कारः उच्चैस्तरां वा भवति एक श्रुतिर्वा ॥

35. The pronunciation of the word *vashat* may optionally be by raising the voice (acutely accented), or it may be pronounced with monotony.

The phrase "yajña-karma" is understood here. Even in yajña-karmas or sacrifices the word वौषट् may optionally be pronounced in a raised tone. The word वषट् in the sūtra signifies वौषट्. But why was not the word वौषट् used in the text? It could have been used with as much ease as वषट्. To this natural query, the only answer is, विचित्राः हि सूत्रस्य कृतिः पाणिनेः strange and wonderful is the structure of Pāṇini's aphorisms, Thus सोमस्याग्ने वीहीश्च वौषट् or सोमस्याग्ने वीहीश्च वौषट्.

विभाषा छन्दसि ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, छन्दसि, (एकश्रुतिः)

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये विभाषा एक श्रुतिर्भवति पक्षान्तरे त्रैस्वर्यमेव भवति ॥

36. The Monotony is optional in the recitation of the Vedas, or they may be recited with accents.

In the Chhandas or the Vedas there is option either to use the Ekas'ruti tone or the three tones. Even on the occasion of ordinary reading, the Chhandas might be uttered either with the three accents or monotonously. Some say this is a limited option (vyavasthita-vibhāṣā).

The option allowed by this sūtra is to be adjusted in this way. In reading the Mantra portion of the Veda, every word must be pronounced with its proper accent : but in the Brāhmaṇa portion of the Veda there might be Ekas'ruti; while some say there must be Ekas'ruti necessarily and not optionally in the recitation of the Brāhmaṇas.

Thus :—अग्निमीले पुरोहितं or simply अग्निमीले पुरोहितं. "I praise Agni the purohita."

The word वा "optionally" of the last sūtra could easily have been read into this sūtra by the rule of *anuvṛitti*; why then use the word विभाषा "optional" again? To this we reply, this apparently redundant repetition is for the sake of indicating that the *anuvṛitti* of the word यज्ञकर्मणि, which was understood in the last sūtra, does not extend to this. Had we taken the *anuvṛitti* of वा, the other word also would have been attracted; hence the separate use of the word विभाषा.

न सुब्रह्मण्यायां स्वरितस्य तूदात्तः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, सुब्रह्मण्यायाम् स्वरितस्य, तु, उदात्तः, (एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुब्रह्मण्यायामेकश्रुतिर्भवति । यस्तु लक्षणमाप्तः स्वरितस्तस्योदात्त आदेशो भवति ॥

37. There should be no Monotony in the recitation of the Subrahmanya hymns and in those hymns, the vowels, that would otherwise have taken the svarita accent, take the *udātta* accent instead.

The subrahmanya hymns are portions of the Rig Veda mentioned in the s'atapatha Brāhmaṇa.

This sūtra prohibits Ekas'ruti in the case of certain prayers called s'ubrahmanya. By rule 34 read with 36 *ante*, prayers might be *optionally* uttered with Ekas'ruti accent. This ordains an exception to that rule. In subrahmanya prayers there is no ekas'ruti; and in these hymns, a vowel which otherwise by any rule of grammar would have taken a svarita accent, takes an *udātta* accent instead.

As सुब्रह्मण्योऽ निन्द्रागच्छ इति आगच्छ. Here the word सुब्रह्मण्य is formed by the addition of the affix यत् to the word सुब्रह्मण्, and this य will get *svarita*

accent by VI. 1. 185, (तिस्वरितम्) as it has an indicatory त्; by the present sūtra, this nascent *svarita* is changed into *udatta*. In the phrase इन्द्र आगच्छ, the word *Indra* being in the vocative case, इ is *udatta*, the अ of *Indra* is *anudatta* VI. 1. 198¹. The *anudatta* preceded by an *udatta* is changed into *svarita* (VIII. 4. 66)².

Thus the अ of इन्द्र must become *svarita*, but by the present sūtra this nascent *svarita* is changed into an *udatta*. Thus in इन्द्र, both vowels become *udatta*. In the word आगच्छ, the आ is *udatta*; the next letter which was *anudatta* becomes *svarita*, and from *svarita* it is changed to *udatta* by the present rule. Thus in the sentence इन्द्र आगच्छ the first four syllables are all acutely accented, the fifth syllable is only *anudatta*. So also in हरिव आगच्छ, for the reasons given above, the letters व and च्छ are *anudatta*, the rest are all acutely accented.

देवब्रह्मणोरनुदात्तः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ देव-ब्रह्मणोः, अनुदात्तः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवब्रह्मणोः स्वरितस्यानु दात्त आदेशो भवति ॥

38. The word *deva* and *Brahmāṇa* in those hymns have *anudatta* accent.

By sūtra 37, it was declared, that in 'subrahmanya hymns, *svarita* accent is replaced by *udatta* accent. This sūtra makes an exception in favour of the words देवा and ब्रह्मण occurring in those hymns. These words have *anudatta* accent. As देवा ब्रह्मण आगच्छत 'come ye Devās and Brahmanas.' Here the word देवा gets *udatta* accent on the first syllable by rule VI. 1. 198¹. (in the vocative the accent is on the beginning): वा *vā* has originally an *anudatta* accent which by rule VIII. 4. 66² (an *anudatta* following an *udatta* is changed into *svarita*) would have been changed into *svarita*. This *svarita*, by the previous sūtra required to be changed into *udatta*; but by this rule, it is replaced by *anudatta*. In other words, the original *anudatta* remains unchanged.

स्वरितासंहितायामनुदात्तानाम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितात्, संहितायाम्, अनुदात्तानाम्, (एकश्रुतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संहितायाम् विषये स्वरितात्परेषामनुदात्तानामेकश्रुतिर्भवति ॥

39. The Monotony takes the place of the *anudatta* vowels which follow the *svarita* vowels, in close proximity (*sanhitā*).

Sanhitā is the joining of two or more words in a sentence, for the purposes of reading or reciting. When words are thus glued together, then

(¹) भामन्वितस्य च ॥

(²) उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः ॥

the *anudatta* accents become *Ekas'ruti* if they are preceded by *svarita* vowels; and are pronounced monotonously. As इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वती (Rig Veda X. 75. 5) O Ganga, Yamuna, Sarasvati! this mine.

Here the word इमं has *udatta* on the last syllable: the word मे is originally *anudatta*, but by rule VIII. 4. 66¹ following an *udatta*, it is changed into *svarita*; after this *svarita* all *anudatta* like गङ्गे, &c., are replaced by *ekas'ruti*. All the vowels of the words गङ्गे, यमुने &c., had *anudatta* accent by rule VIII. 1. 19² (all vocatives get *anudatta* if standing in the middle of a sentence and not beginning a stanza.)

The word "sanhita" has been used in the *sūtra* to show that when there is a hiatus between the words then there is no change of *anudatta* into *ekas'ruti*. The word *sanhita* will be defined in *sūtra* I. 4. 109³.

उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य सन्नतरः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उदात्तस्वरितपरस्य,
सन्नतरः, (अनुदात्तानाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदात्तपरस्य स्वरितपरस्य चानुदात्तस्य सन्नतरादेशो भवति ॥

40. The accent called *Sannatara* is substituted in the room of an *anudatta* vowel, which has an *udatta* or *svarita* vowel following it.

In the previous *sūtra* it was said that an *anudatta* preceded by a *svarita* becomes *Ekas'ruti*. If, however, such an *anudatta* is followed by an *udatta* or a *svarita*, it does not become *Ekas'ruti* but becomes *sannatara*, i.e. lower than *anudatta*.

The *sannatara* is therefore that accent which was originally *anudatta*, and which is preceded by a *svarita* and is followed by an *udatta* or a *svarita*.

This is one explanation of the *sūtra*. There is another explanation which does not take the *anuvṛitti* of *Ekas'ruti* in this *sūtra*. The *anudatta* is replaced by *sannatara* when such *anudatta* immediately precedes an *udatta* or a *svarita*. The *sannatara* is also called *anudatta*. As देवा मरुतः पृथिनमातरोः ॥

Here the word मातरः is *anudatta*. The word अपः has *udatta* on the last syllable by VI. 1. 171.⁴ In the phrase मातरोः (मातरः + अपः) the syllable रो is *anudatta*, because *anudatta* + *anudatta* = *anudatta*. This *anudatta* ओ, preceding the *udatta* षः, is changed into *sannatara*.

अपृक्त एकाल्प्रत्ययः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपृक्तः, एक-अल्, प्रत्ययः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपृक्त इतीयं संज्ञा भवति एकाल् यः प्रत्ययस्तस्य ॥

(¹) उदात्तादनुदात्तस्य स्वरितः (²) आमन्त्रितस्य च ॥ (³) परः संनिकर्षः संहिता ॥

(⁴) उद्दिग्धपदाद्यप्युभयभ्यः ॥

41. An affix consisting of a single letter is called an *Aprikta*.

This defines *Aprikta* affixes. They are those affixes which consist of only one letter of the alphabet. Thus the affix *त्* in *असेधीत्* is a one lettered suffix and is an *Aprikta*. Similarly the affix *क्विन्* *kvīn* is an *Aprikta*, because the letters *क्*, *इ*, and *न्* are merely indicatory, the real affix is *व्*. This *व्* being a single letter, and therefore an *Aprikta*, when added to a base, is elided by rule VI. 1. 67¹ (the *Aprikta* *व्* is elided). Thus *वृत्स्वृक् + क्विन्* = *वृत्स्वृक् + व्* = (III. 2. 58)² = *वृत्स्वृक्* ॥ *अंशभञ्ज् + विव* = *अंशभाक्* 'co-sharer.' (III. 2. 62).³ An affix which consists of more than one letter is not an *Aprikta*. As *हृदि* : 'a ladle' formed by the *Uṇādi* affix *विन्* (*बृहभ्यां विन्*).

तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्पुरुषः, समानाधिकरणः, कर्मधारयः, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणवदः कर्मधारयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

42. A *Tat-purusha* compound, the case of each member of which is the same, is called *karmadhāraya* or *Appositional Determinative* compound.

"*Karmadhāraya* or *Appositional Determinative* compounds form a sub-division of the *determinative* compounds (*Tat-purusha*). In them the first portion stands as the predicate of the second portion, such as in *black-beetle*, *sky-blue*." (Max Muller).

The compounds like *नीलोत्पलं* 'the blue lotus', *परमात्मा* 'the supreme spirit' &c., are examples of *karmadhāraya* compounds. "The component words, if dissolved, would stand in the same case, (*samānādhikaraṇa*), whereas in other *Tat-purushas*, the preceding word is governed by the last."

As, *परमराज्यम्*, is a *karmadhāraya* compound meaning "the best Government." Had it not been a *karmadhāraya* compound, the *udatta* accent would have fallen on the syllable *रा* by rule VI. 2. 130,⁴ (the word *राज्यम्* has *udatta* on the first syllable in *Tat-purusha* compounds, except in *karmadhāraya*).

Similarly *पाचिका + वृन्दारिका* = *पाचकवृन्दारिका* (VI. 3. 42,⁵ the feminine adjective is changed into masculine in the *karmadhāraya*).

Each member of a compound may have the same case, but if it is not a *Tat-purusha* compound, it won't be *karmadhāraya*. As *पाचिका + भार्या* = *पाचिकाभार्या* : 'He who has a wife for a cook.' This is an example of a *Bahuvrīhi* compound, and therefore the word *पाचिका* retains its gender sign.

(¹) वेरपृक्तस्य ॥ (²) स्पृशोऽनुद के क्विन् ॥ (³) भजोविषः ॥ (⁴) अकर्मधारये राज्यम् ॥

(⁵) पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु ॥

A compound may be a Tat-purusha, but if its component parts do not refer to the same thing and are not in the same case, it won't be karmadhāraya:—ब्राह्मण राज्यम् Brāhmaṇa rājyam, 'a Brahmana kingdom.' Here राज्यम् gets udātta on the first syllable by the rule already mentioned (VI. 2. 130).

प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समास उपसर्जनम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथमानिर्दिष्टम्, समासे, उपसर्जनम्, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमया विभक्त्या यन्निर्दिश्यते समासस्य तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं भवति ॥

43. In (this book, in the sūtras relating to) compound, the word that is exhibited in the first (Nominative) case, is called *upasarjana* or the secondary word.

This defines or rather describes the Upasarjana. In the sūtras referring to compounds, the words that have the case termination of the nominative, are called Upasarjanam.

Thus sūtra II. 1. 24 (द्वितीया भिज्जतीत पतिवगता अस्तत्रात्रात्रैः) is a samāsa sūtra enjoining composition. In this sūtra the word द्वितीया is exhibited in the nominative case, and the remaining words are in the Instrumental case. The sūtra means: "An accusative (द्वितीया) is compounded with the words भित्त, अतीत, पतित, गत, अत्रत, प्रात, and आत्र and forms Tat-purusha". Therefore, in forming accusative compounds, the word having the accusative case will be called Upasarjana. Thus कटः + भित्तः = कटभित्तः. Here the word कटः being Upasarjana, stands first in the compound, by Rule II. 2. 30. उपसर्जनं पूर्वम्, (in a compound the Upasarjana should be placed first). Similarly in rules relating to the formation of instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive and locative Tat-purusha, the words standing in those cases will be Upasarjana. Thus शङ्कु शल्यहृदः, यूतदारु वृकनयनः, राजजुरुहः, अक्षयौषधः.

Upasarjana is, therefore, that word which either by composition or derivation loses its original independent character, while it also determines the sense of another word called प्रधान or principal.

एकविभक्ति चापूर्वनिपाते ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-विभक्ति, च, अपूर्व-निपाते, (उपसर्जनम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एका विभक्तिर्यस्य तदिदमेक विभक्ति, समासे विधीयमाने यन्नियतविभक्तिकं द्वितीये सम्बन्धनि बहुभिर्विभक्तिभिर्भुज्यमानेष्वेकैविवभक्त्या युज्यते तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं भवति, अपूर्वनिपाते, पूर्वनिपातं पूर्वनिपाताख्यमुपसर्जनकार्यं वर्जयित्वा ॥

44. A word which has one fixed case, (while the word compounded with it may vary its case) is also *upasarjana*, except for the purposes of the rule which requires the *upasarjana* to stand first in a compound.

A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary its case, is also called upasarjana, but does not necessarily stand first.

That which has one fixed case-termination is called *eka-vibhakti*, i.e., a word whose case termination has been determined by a rule of *saṃāsa* i.e., while the second word in composition with it may take many case-affixes, it takes only one case affix; *apūrva-nipāte*, such a word will be an upasarjana for all purposes, except for the purpose of the rule (II. 2. 30)¹ which requires an upasarjana to stand first in a compound.

Thus the prepositions निः &c, when meaning across &c., are compounded with another word in the ablative case. Though the first word may have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must always be in the fifth (ablative) case, when analytically stated. Ex: निष्क्रान्तः + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिः, निष्क्रान्तं + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिम्, निष्क्रान्तेन + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिना, निष्क्रान्ताय + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बये, निष्क्रान्ते + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बौ.

Similarly the word निर्वाणसिः ॥

If the word, when analytically stated, does not retain the one and the same case, it will not be called upasarjana, as the word कुमारी in the compound राजकुमारी, 'the king's daughter,' because राजः + कुमारी = राजकुमारी; राजः + कुमारीम् = राजकुमारीम्; राजः + कुमार्या = राजकुमार्या, राजः + कुमार्यै = राजकुमार्यै.

Had it been an upasarjana, the long ई of री would have been shortened into इ as in the previous example.

This upasarjana, however, contrary to the general rule (II. 2. 30)¹ cannot stand first in the compound, because there is no such form as कौशाम्बीनिः.

अर्थवद्धातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्थवत्,
अधातुः, अप्रत्ययः, प्रातिपदिकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थवच्छब्दरूपं प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञं भवति धातुप्रत्ययौ वर्जयित्वा ॥

45. A significant form of a word, not being a verbal root (*dhātu*), or an affix (*pratyaya*) is called a *prātipadika* or crude-form.

This defines the word "prātipadika" or crude-form. The prātipadika is the intermediate stage in the development of a full word (*pada*), from the undifferentiated ore called the *dhātu* or root. It is that part of a word which is capable of receiving the case-terminations.

The word अर्थ means having signification. With the exception of verbal roots and affixes, a word-form having a significance or meaning is called

(¹) उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् ॥

a prātipadika, as डित्थः 'a wooden elephant,' कपित्थ 'the wood-apple tree,' कुण्डम् 'a bowl,' पीठम् 'a seat.'

Why do we say "significant"? Of course it must have some meaning. Thus of the word वन, we cannot say that the portion वन् is prātipadika; as it has no meaning, and had it been a prātipadika, the final न् would have been dropped by Rule VIII. 2. 7¹ (the final न् of a prātipadika is dropped).

The word must not be a verb, as the word बधन् (the third person sing. number, imperfect tense of हन्) he killed. Had it been a prātipadika, the न् would have been dropped.

The word must not be an affix or ending in an affix:—as कुण्डे 'in the bowl.' Here the word ends in the affix इ of the locative case, and is consequently not a 'prātipadika' or crude form, but a complete word. Had it been a prātipadika, the ए would have been shortened into इ by rule 47 succeeding.

A nipāta or particle though not a significant form of a word, yet gets the designation of prātipadika in the opinion of the author of the Mahābhāṣya. As अध्यागच्छति, प्रलम्बते.

कृतद्धितसमासाश्च ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत-तद्धित-समासाः , च ,
(प्रातिपदिकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृतस्तद्धिताः समासाश्च प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

46. The forms ending in Kṛit affixes, or *Taddhita* affixes, or compound are also called *Prātipadika*.

This further explains the use of the word prātipadika. "Suffixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds. Those by which nouns are derived direct from roots, primary suffixes. Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns, secondary suffixes. The former are called Kṛit, (III. 1. 93)², the latter *Taddhita* (IV. 1. 76).³ Thus जन *jana*, man, is derived from the root जन् *jan* by the kṛit suffix अ; but जनीन *janina*, appropriate for man, is derived from जन *jana* by the *Taddhita* affix ईन् *ina*. The name prātipadika would apply both to जन *jana* and जनीन *janina*, as nominal bases ready to receive the terminations of declension" (Max Müller).

Of the compounds, of which there are six varieties, we had occasion to refer to five already, *viz.* Tat-purusha, Karmadhāraya, Dvandva, Bahuvrīhi and Avyayībhāva. They will be fully dealt with in their proper places.

In the last sūtra, the words "not ending in an affix" were too extensive; this sūtra makes an important provision in favour of words ending in Kṛit or *Taddhita* affixes. So also compounds are also called prātipadika. Being restricted to compounds only, it, of course, does not apply to sentences.

(1) नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य ॥

(2) कृतद्धिः ॥

(3) तद्धिताः ॥

The words formed by kṛit affixes are prātipadika, as कृ (to do) + ण्वुल् = कृ + वु = कार् + अक = कारक. The affix ण्वुल् is a kṛit affix, and it is added to the root to form agent by Rule III, 1. 133.¹ The letters ण् and ल् are indicative, the force of ण् being to cause the vṛidhi of the vowel of the root. The real affix-वु is changed into अक by VII. 1. 1.² the affixes यु and वु are replaced by अन and अक respectively. Thus the form कारक is a prātipadika, and is capable of declension by receiving case terminations, as कारकः ॥ Similarly कृ + वृच् (III. 1. 133)¹ = कर्तृ; nom. case कर्ता.

The word formed by Taddhita affixes are also prātipadika; उपगु + अण् = औपगो + अ = औपगव 'the son of the Rishi Upagu': nom. case औपगवः. Similarly कापटवः.

In fact in the chapters treating of these affixes, the derivative substantives formed by them are always shown by the Indian Grammarians in the nominative case singular number. The examples of nouns given in this book will be always declined nouns and not prātipadikas, except in peculiar cases. So also in the chapter of samāsa or compounds.

The words ending in compound are prātipadika: as राज्ञः + पुरुषः = राज-पुरुष, nom. case राजपुरुषः.

ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्यः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्रस्वः, नपुंसके, प्रातिपदिकस्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गेऽर्थे यत्प्रातिपदिकं वृत्तते तस्य ह्रस्वो भवति आदेशोलोन्थस्याचः ॥

47. The short vowel is substituted in the neuter, for the final vowel, of a prātipadika.

In the neuter gender, the prātipadika that would have ended in a long vowel, changes it into short. Thus अति + रे = अतिरि 'extravagant', as अतिग्नि = कुलम् 'an extravagant family'; अति लो = अतिलु 'very hairy', अतिलु कुलं 'a very hairy family.'

There is no substitution of short vowel, if the noun is not in the neuter gender, as ग्राम + नी = ग्रामणी, nom. case ग्रामणीः 'the leader of a village or head-borough.' Similarly सेनानीः 'the leader of an army.'

A word may be in the neuter gender, but if it is not a prātipadika, the vowel is not shortened. As काण्डे तिष्ठतः 'two cantos remain.' Here the ए of काण्डे is formed by the coalescence of अ (of the prātipadika काण्ड) and इ (the dual case termination); thus काण्ड + इ = काण्डे. Now it might be urged that here one letter ए replaces two letters अ and इ. Therefore this substitute is equivalent to each of those letters separately, and consequently ए is the vowel of the prātipadika and ought to be shortened. But this is not

(¹) ण्वुल् नृ चो ॥

(²) युवोरनाकौ ॥

to be so, because the word *prâtipadika* has been especially mentioned in the text, and therefore this *ekādés'a* is not treated as the final of the form which precedes it.

गो-स्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-स्त्रियोः, उपसर्जनस्य,
(प्रातिपदिकस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्जनगोशब्दान्तस्य उपसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तस्य च प्रातिपदिकस्य ह्रस्वो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ईयसोऽबहुव्रीहिः प्रतिषेधावक्तव्यः ॥

48. A short vowel is the substitute of *prâtipadika* which ends with the word गो 'a cow,' and of that which ends with what has as its termination a feminine affix; when regarded as *upasarjana*.

The word *upasarjana* has been defined in *sûtra* 43. In compounds the word गो becomes shortened when it stands last and is an *upasarjana*.

Thus चित्र + गो = चित्रगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow.' This is an example of a *Bahuvrîhi* or possessive compound. So also शबलगु 'a spotted cow.' Similarly in those *prâtipadika upasarjanas* which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening. Thus निः + कौशाम्बी = निःकौशाम्बिः. Here the final long ई is shortened. So also निर्वाणसिः.

The word *prâtipadika* of the previous *sûtra* is understood in this. The word गो in the *sûtra* means the form गो and not other words synonym with it. The word स्त्री means "a word ending in a feminine affix," because it has the *svarita* accent. The word *upasarjana* qualifies both these words, i. e. when गो is an *upasarjana* and when a word having a feminine termination is an *upasarjana*.

Other examples are:—अति + खट्वा = अतिखट्वः 'without a bed-stead' अतिमालः 'surpassing a necklace in beauty.'

If such a word is not an *upasarjana*, there is no shortening, as, राजकुमारी 'the king's daughter.' Here the word राजन् is *upasarjana*, and not the word कुमारी which latter is therefore not shortened. The word must be a derivative word formed by the addition of an affix, which makes it feminine. Thus the words लक्ष्मी, श्री &c. are feminine originally, and are not derived from the masculine nouns, by the addition of any feminine affix. Therefore we have अतिलक्ष्मीः 'surpassing Lakshmi in beauty', अतिश्रीः ॥

Vart:—In *Bahuvrîhi* compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix ईयसी, as बहुश्रेयसी, विद्यमानश्रेयसी ।

लुक्त्तद्धितलुकि ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुक्, तद्धित-लुकि, (स्त्री, उपसर्जनस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितलुकि सति स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य उपसर्जनस्य लुक् भवति ॥

49. When a Taddhita affix is elided by the word luk, there takes place the elision by luk of the feminine affix of the upasarjana.

The word लुक् defined in sūtra 61, Chapter I, is twice used in this sūtra. Where a Taddhita affix is elided by the word लुक्, there the feminine suffix of the prātipadika is also dropped, or becomes *luk*. Thus there are certain Taddhita suffixes by which patronymics are formed (one of them being अण्) from other nouns. Before this अण् the initial vowel of the word is vriddhied and the final is gunated. Thus सिन्धु, 'ocean', forms सिन्धु + अण् = सैन्धो + अ = सैन्धव 'born in ocean or oceanic.' But there are certain words, e. g. अविष्ठा, फल्गुणी &c., which are all feminine gender (see sūtra IV. 3. 34)¹ after which the patronymic suffix is totally elided, without leaving any trace of its action, by using the word luk. Thus अविष्ठा + (अणुलुक्) = अविष्ठः ॥ Here then the present sūtra finds its scope. The Taddhita suffix being *luded*; the original feminine termination आ also becomes *luk*. Therefore the patronymic derivative of अविष्ठा (is not a longer word, as might have been expected) but actually a shorter word, namely अविष्ठः; similarly from फल्गुनी we have फल्गुनः &c.

Thus there is a feminine suffix called डीप् (actually ई) and certain words like इन्द्र &c., (IV. 1. 49)² take an additional suffix called आनुक् (actually आन्). Thus the feminine of इन्द्र will be इन्द्र + आनुक् + डीप् = इन्द्र + अन् + ई = इन्द्राणी. Now in forming Dvigu compound (Numeral Determinative compound), the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. Thus पंचकपालः an offering (purodash) made in a dish with five compartments.' In this compound the Taddhita suffix अण् is dropped. Otherwise the form would have been कापालः ॥ Similarly when the word इन्द्राणी forms a Dvigu compound, the Taddhita suffixes are dropped. But not only that, even the original radical affixes are also dropped by force of the present sūtra. Thus पंचेन्द्रः which means the cake sacred to the five goddesses इन्द्राणी. Here the full form was पंच + इन्द्राणी + अण्. (The suffix अण् has the force of "sacred to God." Thus इन्द्र + अण् = ऐन्द्रं sacred to God Indra). In the above expression, first the Taddhita suffix अण् is *luded* by rule contained in sūtra IV. 1. 88³ relating to Dvigu compounds: we have then remaining पंच + इन्द्राणी. In this stage, the present sūtra comes into force and declares that where a Taddhita suffix has been *luded*, the final feminine suffixes of the upasarjana prātipadika are also *luded*. Therefore, the feminine suffixes आनुक् and डीप् are also dropped, and we have पंचेन्द्रः which means "cake sacred to the five Indrāṇis (goddesses)."

(¹) अविष्ठाफल्गुन्यनुराधास्वातितिथ्य पुनर्वसुहस्तविशाखाषाढाबहुलाल्लुक् ॥ (²) इन्द्रवरुण-भवर्शवरुद्रभृङ्गीहमारयययवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् ॥ (³) द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये ॥

The word स्त्री and upasarjana of the last sūtra are understood in this. By the last sūtra, a word ending in a feminine affix was told to be shortened when it was an upasarjana; this sūtra teaches the total suppression of such an affix in special cases. To take another example: Thus Rule IV. 3. 163 declares फललुक् "luk takes the place of an affix signifying modification or product when fruit is meant." Thus यत् is an affix which means modification. Thus गो + यत् = गव्यम् 'cow's milk or the product of cow.' This affix is suppressed when applied to a tree, in the sense of the fruit of the tree. Thus the fruit of the tree आमलकी will be called आमलक, i.e. first the Taddhita affix is *laked*, and then the feminine affix is also dropped. Similarly fruits of बदरी or बकुली trees are बदरं or बकुलं.

This rule only applies when a Taddhita affix is elided; and not so when any other affix is *laked*. Thus गार्ग्याः + कुलं = गार्गीकुलम् 'the family of Gārgī.' Here in forming the samāsa, the case affix of the word gārgī is *laked* by II. 4. 71¹. But this suppression of the genitive termination does not necessitate the elision of the feminine affix ई of gārgī.

This rule would not also apply if there is no elision by *luk* of a Taddhita affix, as in गार्गीत्वम्.

Nor will the rule apply when the word is not an upasarjana. As अवन्ती, कुन्ती, कुरूः.

ईद् गोण्याः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्, गोण्याः, (तद्धितलुकि) ॥

वृत्ति ॥ गोण्यास्तद्धितलुकि सति इकारादेशो भवति ॥

50. The short is substituted in the place of gonî, when Taddhita affix is elided by luk.

By the former sūtra when a Taddhita is elided, the long ई of the feminine also required elision. But this rule makes an exception in favor of the word गोणी in which, under similar circumstances the short इ replaces the long ई, as in the compound पंचगोणिः 'purchased for five gonis.' Here the Taddhita suffix which conveys the meaning of "purchased for," has been rejected after गोणी by V. 1. 28.² Therefore by previous sūtra, the feminine suffix ई also required rejection. But this sūtra intervenes and changes the long ई into short इ.

This sūtra is divided into two separate rules by the process called yoga-vibhāga. Thus इत् is made one sūtra by itself, and then it means, when there is a suppression of Taddhita affix by लुक्, then the long ई is replaced by short इ. Thus purchased with five needles पंचभिः सूचीभिः क्रीतः = पंचसूचिः, दशसूचिः. This is restricted to such examples of purchase only.

(¹) सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयोः ॥ (²) अध्यर्द्धपूर्वद्विगोर्लुगसंज्ञायाम् ॥

लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्तिवचने ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुपि, युक्तवत्,
व्यक्ति-वचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुपिति लुप्तंतया लुप्ततस्य प्रत्ययस्यार्थ उच्यते ; तत्र लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्ति वचने भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इरीतक्यादिषु व्यक्तिः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खलतिकादिषु वचनम् ॥

51. When a Taddhita affix is elided by using the word लुप्, then the gender and number (of the derivative word) agree with those of the original word.

This sūtra consists of four words: 1. लुपि, 'where there is a rejection by using लुप्'; 2. युक्तवत् 'appropriate to the same'; 3. व्यक्ति 'gender'; 4. वचन 'number.' The form vyakti vachane is dual.

When a Taddhita affix is lured, then the derivative word retains the gender and number of the primitive word. Note the difference between the rejection of a Taddhita by saying 'let there be a लुक्' and 'let there be a लुप्' ॥ The direct action of both words is the rejection of the suffix; but a derivative formed by luk rejection may not retain the number and gender of the original word; while a derivative formed by lup rejection does retain the number and gender of the original word.

Thus in the secondary derivative word शिरीषाः, meaning 'a village not far away from शिरीष trees', the masculine gender and plural number of the original word has been retained, though made applicable to a village, which is in the singular number and neuter gender; similarly the word पंचालाः is masculine plural in form though applicable to a single province.

This sūtra is not an approved rule; as will be mentioned by Pāṇini in sūtra 53 following and is consequently of little practical importance.

Thus पंचालाः are a class of Kshatriyas. As such it is masculine gender and plural number. The country in which Pañchālās live is also called Pañchālās; similarly कुरुवः, मागधाः &c. There is a rule जनपदेलुप् (IV. 2. 81, the lup takes the place of an affix when signifying the proper name of a country or kingdom). Thus पंचालाः + अण् (this is one of the affixes forming country) = पंचालाः.

This rule does not apply when the affix is suppressed by the word लुक् &c. and not लुप्. Thus लवणः सूयः 'salted soup', लवणायवायुः 'salted gruel', लवणे शाकं 'salted vegetable.' Here the affix उक् has been elided by the word लुक्, by IV. 4. 24, लवणात्लुक् (after the word lavana the affix is lured).

These derivatives retain only the gender and number of the original, but no other quality. Thus as we have already seen that शिरीषाः, s'irīṣah, is the name of a village and is formed by the lup of the affix. Now compounding it with वन we have शिरीषवनम्, 'the forest of the village Sirīṣa.' Here

the word शिरीषा: means village, and not trees. Had it meant trees called s'irisha, then the न of वन would have become ख optionally by Rule VIII. 4. 6. (विभाषौषधि वनस्पतिभ्यः ॥ The न of the word वन is optionally changed into ख when preceded by words signifying annual herbs and trees).

Vart:—In the case of the words *Haritaki* &c., the gender only is retained and not the number. As हरीतक्य फलानि 'the fruits of Haritaki.' Here फलं is neuter in form, while हरीतकी is feminine.

Vart:—The words खलतिक &c. retain their number only but not gender, as खलतिकंवनानि 'mountain forests, i.e. forests in the vicinity of mountains.' Here खलतिकं is singular and वनानि plural, but the gender of both is the same *vis.* neuter.

विशेषणानां चाजातेः ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशेषणानाम्, च,
अजातेः, (लुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुबर्हस्ययानि विशेषणानि तेषामपि व्यक्तिवचने भवतो जातिं वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ मनुष्यलुपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

52. And of adjectives, (the gender and number are the same as of the word formed by *lup* elision of the Taddhita and which they qualify) so far as the *jāti* (or kind or species) is concerned; (or when not expressing *jāti*.)

When a Taddhita is *luped*, the adjectives which qualify such secondary derivatives agree with them in number and gender. This is a rule of syntax. Thus पंचालाः रमणीयाः बहुवन्नाः, बहुक्षीरघृताः बहुमाल्यफलाः 'the pleasant Pañchālās having plenty of food, plenty of milk and butter.' Here the adjective रमणीयाः, pleasant &c., agrees in number and gender with the Pañchālāḥ; being also in masculine plural. But when such a derivative is used as a *jāti* word then the adjective does not agree in number and gender, as पंचालाः जनपदः, गोदौ ग्रामः. Here जनपद though qualifying Pañchālā does not agree with it in number and gender, as it is a noun of class. All attributes of such words formed by the *lup* of Taddhita agree with their substantives in number and gender: provided that such an attribute is not a common noun used as an adjective. Similarly adjectives which do not directly qualify such Taddhita-formed nouns, but do so through the medium of a noun of class, do not agree in gender and number with the Taddhita-word. Thus पंचालाः जनपदो रमणीयो बहुवन्नः, 'the country of Pañchālās is pleasant and fertile.' Here the words रमणीयः and बहुवन्नः qualify directly the word 'जनपदः' and indirectly the word Pañchālās, and therefore do not agree with the latter.

The explanation of this sūtra as given by Patanjali in the Mahābhāṣya is somewhat different from that of the Kāś'ika. The phrase चाजातेः is analysed by him as च and आजाते; the sense being "and as far as the jāti goes." The word jāti is thus explained :—

A word expressing whatever is distinguishable by its form or figure, or which begins the name of an individual is easily found applicable to others without any further teaching, (a common name) provided it is not a word used in all genders, (common noun मुख्यजाति genus); and (only for the purpose of grammar as coming under the rules relating to the abovementioned words), a word expressing descendants by their parentage as well as a word expressing a person by the branch of the Vedas (शाखा) which the family to which the person belongs is competent to read शाखाध्येतृ (s'akhādhyetṛi) (गौणजाति) = जातिवाचकाः (jātivāchakāḥ) आकृति गृह्यजातिर्लिंगानां च न सर्वभाक् । सकृदाख्यात निग्राह्य गोत्रं च चरणैः सह ॥

The following examples will illustrate the meaning of the above definition:—(1) तट is a jāti word because it denotes what is distinguishable by its form, i. e. by its being contiguous to a place covered with water, (2) शुद्र is such a word, because when given as the name of an individual, is applicable to other s'ūdras (common name), (3) औपगव is such a word, and (4) कठ a person belonging to the family competent to read the branch of the Vedas called kaṭha is also such a word. But देवदत्त is not such a word, because it is a proper name applicable to only one individual and शुक्र is likewise not such a word, because it, though a common name, is used in all genders.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of nouns formed by the लुप् elision of an affix relating to man. Thus the Taddhita affix कन् (क) is employed in denoting representation by imitation. Thus अश्वकः means a figure like a horse (in wood or clay or paper). But when the imitation is that of a man, this affix is elided. Thus चञ्चा means a "doll of straw." But when we want to say a doll in the figure of a man, we will have चञ्चा + कन्लुप् (लुम्नुष्ये V. 3. 98) = चञ्चा. Here this word is formed by the elision of an affix relating to man. Adjectives qualifying this word will not agree in gender and number. Thus चञ्चा अभिरूपः 'the delightful straw figure of man.' वधिकाः दर्शनीयः 'a beautiful representation of an eunuch.'

तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अशिष्यम्, संज्ञा

प्रमाणत्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदशिष्यं न वक्तव्यं कस्मात्संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् ॥

53. This (concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes and substantives) need not be taught (or approved), because it has the authority of samjñâ (or conventional term or idiom).

The agreement between the number and gender of the nouns and attributes; of primary and secondary words formed by suffix rejection, is not an approved syntax. The gender and number of particular derivatives or adjectives are not blindly to be fixed by the primary words or the governed substantives; but it is a matter more or less of usage or idiom: and no hard and fast rule can be laid down for it. Thus the word वरा: 'wife' has the form of masculine plural, but is always applied to females, similarly आप: 'water' is always feminine plural in form, so also गृहाः वर्षाः सिक्ताः. This sūtra, therefore, modifies the former sūtras and leaves the whole question of syntactic agreement to be decided by usage and idiom.

The words like Pañchālās, Kaurava, &c, should not be considered as derivative words formed by the lup elision of Taddhita; but they must be taken as proper nouns and appellatives of certain countries; consequently the gender and number of such words are fixed by the nature of such words and not by any rule of grammar.

लुब् योगाप्रख्यानात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप, योग- अप्रख्यानात्, (अशिष्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ योऽयं जनपदे लुप् वरणादिभ्यश्चेति लुबुध्यते अयं न वक्तव्यः, किं कारणं योगाप्रख्यानात् नहि पञ्चाला वरणा इति योगः सम्बन्धः प्रख्यायते नैतदुपलभामहे वृक्षयोगान्नगरे वरणा इति ॥

54. The sūtras declaring lup elision need not also be taught, because of the non-currency of the etymological meaning of the words supposed to be formed by lup elision.

In explaining certain words, it is a round-about way of going to work to say that there was a suffix after them, which has been rejected, without producing any effect. It is easier to say that the form is what we find it to be, and that its peculiar meaning depends upon usage. Moreover, in many cases, the would-be etymological meaning is not in fact that the current meaning which the word has in ordinary language. It is therefore a useless circumlocution to presuppose the existence of a suffix, to add it to a word, and, then after all, to make it vanish.

Thus वरणाः Varanāḥ is the name of a city. To say that it is derived from वरणाः a kind of tree, because the city is situated near such trees, and the trees gave the name to the city, is a cumbersome process. Because there might be no trees वरणा at all near the town Varanā. Let us therefore call words like वरणा, पञ्चाला, &c., as simply proper nouns. Therefore there is no occasion for the application of the Taddhita affixes given in IV. 2. 69 and 70 (तस्य निवासः, अदूरभवद्वा) relating to residence and vicinity; much less of rules relating to 'lup' elision contained in IV. 2, 81 and 82 (जनपदेऽलुप्, वरणादिभ्यश्च).

योगप्रमाणे च तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ योग-
प्रमाणे, च, तद्-अभावे, आदर्शनम्, स्यात्,

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चालादयः संज्ञा शब्दा न योगनिमित्तादित्युक्तं. तच्चावश्यमेवाभ्युपगन्तव्यं योग-
प्रमाणेहि तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात्, यदि पञ्चालादि शब्दो योगस्य प्रमाणं योगस्य वाचकः स्यात् ततस्तद्-
भावेऽदर्शनमप्रयोगः स्यात् ॥

55. And if the etymological meaning be held authoritative, then when such meaning is absent, the word also should vanish.

This sūtra strengthens the former sūtra. If it be said that a word always retains its etymological meaning in current language; then when there is an absence of such etymological meaning, then the word itself ought to vanish. But we know, as a matter of fact, that there are words which have altogether lost their etymological sense, and connote a thing different from their radical meaning. Therefore to explain such words by *lup* elision of affixes is improper, because they do not retain the meaning of their primitive words.

It has already been said that words like पञ्चालाः &c. are not derivative words, &c. but are appellatives. If these words be taken as proving their etymological meaning, that is, as expressing or dependent upon, the sense of the original word, then when there is a loss of the original word signification, the secondary word must also cease to be employed. Thus if Pañchālās be the name of the country in which the Kshatriyas called Pañchālās live, then when they cease to live in this country, it should cease to be called Pañchālās. But we know, as a matter of fact, these words are now used without any reference to the people who once inhabited the countries. These words are consequently not derivative, but their sense is determined by usage. They are what may be called रूढि words.

प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥
प्रधान-प्रत्यय, अर्थ-वचनम् अर्थस्य, अन्यप्रमाणत्वात् (अशिष्यं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रधानं समासे किञ्चित्पदं प्रत्ययस्तद्व्यतिरिक्तं. ताभ्यामर्थवचनमर्थभिधानमनेन प्रका-
रेण भवतीति पूर्वाच्चाट्यैः परिभाषितम्. प्रधानोपसर्जने प्रधानार्थसहस्रतः प्रकृति प्रत्ययौसद्वयार्थं ब्रूत इति ।
तत् पाणिनिराचार्यः प्रत्याचष्टे अशिष्यमेतत् अर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वादिति । अन्य इति शास्त्रापेक्षया
लोकोप्यपदिश्यते, शब्दैर्योभिधानं स्वाभाविकं न पारिभाषिकमशक्यत्वात् । लोकेत एवार्थावगतेः ॥

56. (Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principal (pardhâna, in a compound) or on the affix (pratyaya), because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or derivative) consists in something else.

This sūtra may be divided into two parts. The first part stating the proposition and ending with the word vachanam. The second part giving the reason. The first part consists of four words; Pradhâna: 'Principal in a compound.' As in the compound राजपुरुषः 'king's man,' the word rāja is Upasarjana; and पुरुषः is pradhâna. 2. Pratyaya: 'affix.' 3. अर्थ 'meaning.' 4. वचनम् 'word or sentence.'

In the time of Pāṇini, there were some grammarians who held the opinion, that the meaning of a word is determined, if a compound word, then by its principal word; and if a derivative word, then by the suffix. Pāṇini controverts this opinion by declaring that inasmuch as the meaning of a word is fixed by usage and idiom, therefore the proofs for the meaning of a word are not to be searched either in the affixes which go to form it; or by its principal word, if it is a compound. Because, says Pāṇini, the proof of the meaning of a word is in something else, that is to say in the usage of a people and not in the suffixes, &c. A person who has never heard the name of grammar, understands full well when told to bring a Raja-purusha. He brings an official and not a king, nor even any person in general. Similarly when told to bring an औपगव he brings a cowherd's child, not a cowherd, nor a child in general, nor both. When, therefore, the sense of a word is determined by usage, there is no use to strive to find out the sense by grammatical rules.

कालोपसर्जने च तुल्यम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-उपसर्जने, च, तुल्यम्, (अशिष्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालोपसर्जने चाशिष्ये कस्मादर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् ॥

57. And a rule fixing the meaning of Tense (kâla) and Upasarjana (sequence) is equally (unnecessary, and need not be taught).

Here Pāṇini controverts the opinion of those grammarians who would even define time and sequence. Thus there were authors who defined pluperfect as a tense relating to time hundred years past, others said a thousand years past, &c. Pāṇini declares that these are redundant definitions and reprehensible, for the same reason as given in the previous sūtra.

To give another example. Thus अद्यतनः कालः or the period of the current day, has been thus defined by some Acharyas :—"The period of time beginning from the point when one rises (or ought to rise) from his bed, according to the law, and ending with the point when one goes to bed, according to rule, is called adyatana." Others say "from midnight to midnight is the period of the current day." Similarly others have explained the 'upasarjana' to mean "that which is not the principal word in a compound is called upasarjana." The sage Pāṇini has not thought it worth his while to define such word as upasarjana, inasmuch as their sense is well understood by all as a matter of usage. Thus common people who have never heard of grammar, also know the correct use of tenses; they say: "This is to be done by me to-day, this will be done by us to-morrow, this was done by us yesterday."

Similarly common people also know the use of the word upasarjana, for they say:—"वयमत्र गृहे ग्रामे वा उपसर्जनम् 'we are secondary or unimportant persons in this house or village,' meaning that they are not the principal persons. Therefore that which is valid according to the usage of the people is needless to be taught.

Why was not this sūtra included in the last? What is the necessity of making a separate rule of this? The answer is that it is an illustrative sūtra, and does not exhaust the subject. There are other rules made by former sages which are also not taught by Pāṇini. Thus the following rules of old Rishis are not taught herein, they being supposed to be well-known. "A Bahuvrīhi compound connotes ownership." "In Dvanda compounds the sense of both the members of a compound are principal" "In Avyayibhāva compounds the sense of the prior word is the principal" &c.

जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥
जाति-आख्याम्, एकस्मिन्, बहुवचनम्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्नर्थे बहुवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संख्याप्रयोगे प्रतिषेधोवक्तव्यः ॥

58. In (a common) name (expressive of) class, in denoting the singular, the plural is optionally employed.

The words of this sūtra require some detailed explanation. The name of a jāti or species, always denotes one, since it is a collective noun, and will naturally take the singular number; by the present sūtra such words may take the plural number also. In such nouns of class, the plural number has also the force of the singular. The anuyriti of as'ishyam does not go further.

It follows from this that adjectives which are not themselves common noun, such as संपन्नः &c., agree with the noun and will also get the plural number. Thus संपन्नो यवः or संपन्ना यवाः; "Full grown barley" पूर्ववया ब्राह्मणः प्रत्युत्थेयैः or पूर्ववयसो ब्राह्मणाः प्रत्युत्थेयाः ॥

Why have we used the word jāti in this sūtra? For this aphorism does not apply to Proper Nouns. Thus देवदत्तः Devadatta, यज्ञदत्तः Yajñadatta. Why have we used the word आख्यायाम्? A word may be a class noun or jāti, but it may not be the appellation of a class. Thus the statue of Kāsyapa may also be called kās'yapa; this is a class noun; but as it is not the appellation आख्या or name of a class, such words cannot take the plural form and still denote a singular sense.

Why do we say 'ekasmin'? When two or more class names are compounded as ब्रीहियवौ 'the rice and barley': the rule does not apply.

Vart:—An exception must be made when a class noun is qualified by a numeral adjective. As एको ब्रीहिः संपन्नः सुभिन्नं करोति.

अस्मदो द्वयोश्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्मदः, द्वयोः, च, (एकस्मिन्, बहुवचनं अन्यतरस्याम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मदो यो ऽर्थस्तस्यैकत्वे द्वित्वे च बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सविशेषणस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ युष्मदि गुरवेकेषाम् ॥

59. The plural of the pronoun *asmad*, 'I,' is used optionally, though the sense requires a singular or dual number.

Thus "I speak" or "we speak" (अहं ब्रवीमि or वयं ब्रूमः), may be spoken by one person; similarly two persons may either use the dual case or the plural case; thus आवां ब्रूवः 'we two speak' or वयं ब्रूमः 'we speak.'

Vart:—There is prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is qualified by an attribute:—as अहं देवदत्तो ब्रवीमि, 'I Devadatta am speaking,' अहं गार्ग्यो ब्रवीमि, 'I Gārgya am saying.' Here we cannot use the plural.

Vart:—The word गुरु 'master' may have plural form though referring to one person, when following the word युष्मद; as त्वं मे गुरुः or वयं मे गुरुवः. 'Thou art my master,' or 'you are my master.'

फल्गुनीप्रोष्ठपदानां च नक्षत्रे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ फल्गुनी-प्रोष्ठ-पदानां च नक्षत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फल्गुन्योर्द्वयोः प्रोष्ठपदश्च द्वयोरनक्षत्रयोर्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् भवति ॥

60. And the dual of *Phālgunī* and *Proshthapadā*, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes optionally plural).



The word च in this aphorism draws in the anuvritti of the word द्वयः from the last. Of the stars phalgunî and proshthapadâ, the forms may be either dual or plural. As उदिते पूर्वे फल्गुन्यौ (dual); or उदिताः पूर्वाः फल्गुन्यः (plural.) So also पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे or पूर्वाः प्रोष्ठपदाः ॥ There are two pairs of stars of the name of phalgunî and proshthapadâ, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being 'dual.' The present sūtra ordains plural optionally. If phalgunî and proshthapadâ are not names of asterisms, they must have their proper number: as फल्गुन्यौ माणविके ॥

छन्दसि पुनर्वस्वोरेकवचनम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, पुनर्वस्वोः,
एक-वचनम्, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयोर्द्विवचने प्राप्तिं पुनर्वस्वोरेकवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

61. In the Vedas, the two stars, Punarvasû, may optionally be singular (and connote a dual).

In the Vedas, the star *punarvasû* which is always *dual* in form, may be in the singular form and connote a dual meaning. As पुनर्वसुर्नक्षत्रं or पुनर्वसू नक्षत्रमदितिर्देवता ॥ The option is only allowed in the Vedas and not in secular literature. In the latter it must be in the dual, that is, पुनर्वसू ॥ Similarly when it is not the appellation of an asterism but of a man, there is no option. As पुनर्वसू माणविकौ.

विशाखयोश्च ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशाखयोः, च (छन्दसि, अन्य-
तरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवचने प्राप्तिं छन्दसि विषये विशाखयोरेकवचनमन्यतरस्यां भवति ॥

62. In the Vedas, the two stars Vis'âkhâ may optionally be in the singular number.

The word विशाखा is in the dual number as a rule. In the Vedas, it is found sometime to have the singular form, denoting duality. Thus विशाखा नक्षत्रम् or विशाखे नक्षत्रमिन्द्राग्नी देवता ॥

तिष्यपुनर्वस्वोर्नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनस्य द्विवचनं नित्यम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥
तिष्य-पुनर्वस्वोः, नक्षत्र-द्वन्द्वे, बहुवचनस्य, द्विवचनम्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिष्यपुनर्वस्वोर्नक्षत्रविषयेद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनप्रसङ्गे नित्यं द्विवचनं भवति ॥

63. In the Dvandva compounds of the stars Tishya and Punarvasû, the dual constantly comes in the place of the plural.

When there is a collective compounding of the words Tishya and Punarvasû (meaning two groups of stars), the final compound is always in the dual. Thus उदितौ तिष्यपुनर्वसूदृश्यते 'the Tishya and Punarvasû having risen are seen (dual).'

There is one star called Tishya; and there are two stars called Punarvasû. As the Dvandva compound of these stars refers to more than two stars, it ought to have been in the plural number. This rule teaches that there should be a dual number, where otherwise there would have been a plural number. Why do we say 'Tishya' and 'Punarvasû'? Observe विशाखानुराधा: 'the stars Visâkhâ and Anurâdhâ.' The compound is in plural number.

This rule would not apply if these words do not connote stars but are used in any other sense. As तिव्यपुनर्वसवो माणवकाः, 'Boys called Tishya and Punarvasûs.'

Why is the word 'star' repeated in the sūtra, when the previous sūtras and the context show that stars were being treated of. The repetition is for the sake of including the synonyms of Tishya and Punarvasû. As तिव्यपुनर्वसुः, पुन्यपुनर्वसुः, सिद्धपुनर्वसुः ॥

The rule only applies when these words form a Dvandva compound, and not when they are compounded in any other way. Thus तिव्यपुनर्वसवः is an example of Bahuvrîhi compound meaning "persons who confound the Tishya with the Punarvasû."

The rule only applies to the *plural* Dvandva. If the Dvandva takes the singular termination, this rule has no application. As तिव्यपुनर्वसु इदमिति.

This sūtra indicates by implication (jñapaka) that "every Dvandva compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular" for otherwise the employment of the term बहुवचनस्य in the sūtra would be superfluous.

The word 'always' has been used in the text to show that the governing power of "option" stops here with this sūtra and does not extend to it or any further.

सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सरूपाणाम्, एक-शेष, एक-विभक्तौ,

वृत्ति ॥ सरूपाणां शब्दानां एकविभक्तौ परत एकशेषो भवति ॥

64. Of the words having the same form, and all in the same one case-termination, the last one is only retained.

This is a very important sūtra, and deals with what is technically called Ekas'asha (or retention of one). When there are two or more words of the same form, and the same case termination, standing together, one is retained and the rest are dropped. Thus वृक्षः + वृक्षः = वृक्षौ (trees, in dual) वृक्षः + वृक्षः + वृक्षः = वृक्षाः.

Every individual thing requires an individual word to express it; one word therefore could not express many things; to prevent the repetition of

the same word to express many objects of similar form, is the purpose of this sūtra, by which one word is only retained.

This applies only to words having the same form and not if they have different forms; as वृक्ष न्यग्रोधः the plaksha and nyagrodha trees.

The word "form" is used in the text to show that even if two words have different meanings, but the same form, the rule of Ekas'esha will apply, as अक्षः (die) + अक्ष (eye) + अक्ष (axle) = अक्षाः. Similarly पादाः and भाषाः.

The present rule only applies to the retention of one, and prevents the retention of two or more.

The word शेष (retention) is used to show that there is not a substitution (ādes'a) of one for many, but the retention of one out of many.

The rule will not apply if the two words are in different case-terminations, though they may have the same form. As पयः (1. s.) पयो (2. s.) जरयति ब्राह्मणाभ्यां (3. d.) च कृतं ब्राह्मणाभ्यां (4. d.) च देहि.

वृद्धो यूना तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धः, यूना, तत्-लक्षणः, चेद् एव, विशेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धोयूनासहवचनेशिव्यते युवानिवर्त्तते तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः ॥

65. The vṛiddha (or patronymic Gotra word becomes ekas'esha, and is retained, when compounded) with a patronymic word called yuvan, provided that the specific difference in form between them be in their signs (affix) only.

The word s'esha of the previous sūtra is understood here. The word "yūnā" in the text is in the instrumental case. The yuvan word is dropped when read along with a Vṛiddha word. The word Vṛiddha means gotra: the old ācharyas (grammarians) used the word Vṛiddha for gotra. The vṛiddha (or in other words, the gotra) word designates a person between whom and original head of the family a son (or a word formed by an apatya affix) intervenes. In using together two words, one formed by a gotra affix and the other by a yuvan affix, the Vṛiddha is retained, where the difference between those words is in their affixes only. These two words, gotra and yuvan, are defined in sūtras IV. 1. 162 and 163. (अपत्यं पौत्रप्रवृत्ति गोत्रम् ॥ जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा) ॥ Roughly speaking a gotra word is formed from the original noun which is the name of the head of the family when a son of such person is living; and a vṛiddha word represents thus a grandson, or lower than that, but not a son; while a yuvan word is derived from such last mentioned gotra word by another affix and thus represents persons lower than grandsons.

The word 'tad' in the sūtra refers to the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word lakṣhaṇa 'sign' in the sūtra is synonymous with 'cause' or 'occasion'; meaning the specific difference is caused or occasioned by the gotra and yuvan affixes. The word चेत् in the sūtra means 'if.' The word एव 'only' is used to exclude others. The word विशेषः in the sūtra means the 'dissimilarity of form.'

Thus गार्ग्यः + गार्ग्यायणः = गार्ग्यौ. Here the first word denotes a clan called Gargya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix यञ् (IV. I. 105) ¹ the second word denotes a younger branch of the same, and is formed by the Taddhita affix फक् denoting a secondary derivative.* In this then, the first or "Vṛiddha" remains; the second or the yuvan is dropped; and the form "Gargyau" means both the old and the new clan. Similarly वास्यः + वास्यायनः = वास्यौ ॥

This Ekas'esha is to be done only in those cases, where the two words have the same radical form, the only difference between them being in their derivative formation.

The words must differ only by their affixes, but their radical element must be the same. The rule therefore does not apply to :—गार्ग्यः (a Vṛiddha word + वास्यायनः (a yuvan word) = गार्ग्यवास्यायनौ ॥

This rule of ekas'esha does not apply if one of the words be not a Vṛiddha word. Thus गर्गः + गार्ग्यायणः = गर्गगार्ग्यायणौ ॥

Similarly *vice versa* गार्ग्यः + गर्गः = गार्ग्यगर्गौ । Here the one word is Vṛiddha, but the other is not yuvan.

The word "only" is used in the sūtra in an exclusive sense, the force being, that two words may stand in the relation of Vṛiddha and yuvan, their radical element, *i. e.* form may be the same; but if the secondary word has another sense over and above the sense of a yuvan affix, this rule is not applicable. Thus rule IV. 1. 148³ says a "Vṛiddha word may optionally take the affix टक् to form a yuvan word and to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sauvira." Thus भागवत्तिः + भागवत्तिकः = भागवत्तिभागवत्तिकौ. Here the second word, though a yuvan word, connotes the additional sense of contempt and degradation. The affix टक् is not merely a yuvan affix but conveys the other sense also, the pure yuvan word being भागवत्तियनः.

N. B.—The system of domestic economy among the ancient Aryas was considerably different from the prevalent one. The surnames or the gotras represented the patriarchal system. Three forms of surnames are constantly met with in ancient literature. The first was most important: it was the patronymic by which the lord of the united family, the patriarch, was known. For example, Garga or Gargāchārya was the recognised head of all the Gargas who may be a hundred. His eldest son and heir was called Gārgi. This is the first form of the patronymic (apatya). The grandsons or sons of Gārgi were named Gārgyas (Vṛiddham or Gotra). On the decease of the old patriarch, Gārgi began to be called Garga; and the eldest of the grandsons was called Gārgi; and those great-grandsons who belonged to the family, and were designated Gārgāyanas (yuvan) were now called Gārgyas."

(¹) गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् ॥ (²) यन्निञोश्च ॥ (³) वृद्धादट्कसौवीरेषु बहुवच ॥

स्त्री पुंवच्च ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्री, पुंवत्, च (शेषवृद्धयूना तल्ल० चि०)

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्री वृद्धा यूना सहवचने शिष्यते तल्लक्षणश्वेदेव विशेषो भवति ॥

66. And so also a feminine word, ending with a *vṛiddha* affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word but which ends with a *yuvan* affix, is only retained; and it is treated like a masculine.

When a word denoting *gotra* and in the feminine gender is compounded with another word denoting a *yuvan*, the first is retained and the last is dropped; and the feminine noun so remaining is then treated like the masculine. This aphorism makes an addition to the previous *sūtra* and is governed by all the conditions mentioned in that *sūtra*. Thus गार्गी + गार्ग्यायणः = गार्गी. Here note that the resultant form is the same as in the former *sūtra*, namely the masculine.

Similarly दाक्षी + दाक्षायणः = दाक्षी (masculine dual of दाक्षि).

Vart.—The word *stri* in the *sūtra* means *Vṛiddhā stri*, that is the eldest daughter of a grandson, or a further descendant considered as the female head of the family. The words 'tal lakshanas' *chedeva vis'eshah* of the previous *sūtra* govern this *sūtra* also, *i. e.* the distinction between the two words must be in their formative element and not in any thing else.

पुमान् स्त्रिया ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुमान्, स्त्रिया (शेषः, तल्लक्षणश्वेदेव विशेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रियासहवचने पुमान् शिष्यते स्त्रीनिवर्त्तते स्त्रीपुंसलक्षणश्वेदेव विशेषो भवति ॥

67. A word in the masculine gender, similarly spoken along with the same word, but ending with the feminine affix, becomes *ekas'esha*, and the latter is dropped.

When two words of different genders differ only in their derivative elements but not in their radical elements, that is to say, one is masculine and the other feminine because of certain affixes, the masculine only is retained and the feminine is dropped.

The governing force of the words '*vṛiddha*' and '*yuvan*,' of *sūtra* 65, does not extend to this *sūtra*, but the remaining portion of *sūtra* 65 is to be read into this *sūtra*. When a masculine word is read along with a feminine word, the feminine word is dropped and the masculine is retained, when the difference between the two words is caused only by the feminine and masculine affixes: as ब्राह्मणः + ब्राह्मणी = ब्राह्मणौ 'the *Brāhmaṇa* and the *Brāhmaṇī*'; कुक्कुटः + कुक्कुटी = कुक्कुटौ 'the cock and hen.'

But not so in the following :— कुक्कुटः + मयूरी = कुक्कुटमयूरी 'the cock and the peahen.' Similarly गणकः + गणकी = गणकगणक्यौ. Here the feminine affix डीष्, by which the word gaṇakī is formed from gaṇaka, in addition to its feminine signification, has the further signification given to it by Rule IV. 1. 48, पुंयोगादाख्ययाम्, meaning the "wife of" a gaṇaka and not a feminine gaṇaka; so also इन्द्रश्च इन्द्राणी चेन्द्रेन्द्राण्यौ ॥ Similarly आर्यः + आर्या = आर्यौ but आर्यः + आर्याणी = आर्यार्याण्यौ. Because the feminine affix in *aryani* conveys more than its feminine signification. See Rule IV. 1. 49.

This rule does not, of course, apply when it is not a masculine noun which is compounded, but it is a noun without any gender or neuter noun which is compounded with a feminine noun. Therefore प्राक् + प्राची = प्राक्प्राच्या. The word प्राक् is an indeclinable and is without any gender.

भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातृ-पुत्रौ, स्वसृ-दुहितृभ्याम्, (शेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथासंख्यं भ्रातृपुत्रद्वयौ शिष्येते सहवचने स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् ॥

68. The words bhrâtri, 'brother,' and putra, 'son,' when spoken of along with svasri, 'sister' and duhitri 'daughter' respectively are only retained, and the latter are dropped.

• With this sūtra ceases the governing force of the remaining conditions contained in sūtra 65. Even where the radical elements of two words are different there may be an ekas'ēsha under special circumstances. Thus भ्रातृ + स्वसृ = भ्रातरो (brother and sister or brothers). Similarly पुत्र + दुहितृ = पुत्रौ, (son and daughter or sons).

N. B.—The practical application of this sūtra is very neatly illustrated by the following example. There is a verse in Yājñavalkya smṛiti पत्नी दुहितरश्चैव वितरो भ्रातरस्तथा which declares that on the death of a sonless person his property passes to his wife, daughters, parents and bhrātarah.

Here the word bhrātarah, if it be taken as simply the plural of bhrâtri, it means "brothers" and excludes sisters. But if it be interpreted according to this sūtra, it means "brothers and sisters"; and thus gives sisters a right to inherit property of their brothers.

नपुंसकमनपुंसकेनैव चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥
नपुंसकम्, अनपुंसकेन, एकवत्, च अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, (शेषः,
तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकानपुंसकमाश्रुते विशेषेऽनपुंसकेन सहवचने नपुंसकाशिष्यते; एकवत्त्वात्स्य-
कं च भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

69. A neuter noun, which has the same form, only differing in affix, is optionally retained, and the other is dropped, and it is like a singular number.

A neuter prevails over a masculine or feminine noun when spoken of along with them; provided that the words differ in gender signs only; but radically they be the same. Thus आलस्यो मैथुनं निद्रा सेव्यमानं विवर्द्धते 'Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase.' Here the adjective 'sevyamānam' is in the neuter gender, though it qualifies the words 'ālasya' which is in the masculine, 'maithunam' which is in the neuter, and 'nidrā' which is in the feminine gender. The rule, therefore, may be stated in these words, that where one adjective qualifies several nouns, in different genders, but one of which must be neuter, the adjective agrees with the neuter.

The above illustration also shows that the neuter ekas'esha may be in the singular number.

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not apply. Thus शुक्लं + शुक्लं + शुक्लं = शुक्लानि; the word is in the plural; there is no ekavadbhāva.

The words तल्लक्षणश्वेदेव विशेषः of sūtra 65 governs this sūtra also: thus शुक्लं च कम्बलः, शुक्ला च वृक्षतिका, शुक्लं च वस्त्र. "The white (masc.) blanket, the white (fem) wrapper, and the white (neut.) garment," may all be spoken of collectively as शुक्लं (neut.).

पिता मात्रा ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ पिता, मात्रा (शेष, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मात्रासह वचने पितृशब्दः शिष्यते अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

70. The word pitri, 'father', is optionally only retained when spoken of along with māttri, 'mother.'

Thus पिता + माता = पितरौ 'father and mother, or parents' or मातापितरौ. The verse quoted under sūtra 68 illustrates this sūtra also. There the word 'pitarau' has been explained by all commentators as "father and mother." The word "ekavad" of the last sūtra does not govern this sūtra; though the anuvṛitti of 'optionally' is to be read into this.

श्वशुरः श्वश्रवा ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वशुरः, श्वश्रवा, (शेष, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वश्रवासह वचने श्वशुरशब्दः शिष्यते अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

71. The word s'vas'ura 'father-in-law,' is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with s'vas'rū, 'mother-in-law.'

Thus श्वशुरः + श्वशू may be either श्वशुरौ 'father-in-law and mother-in-law,' or श्वश्रश्चशुरौ ॥

त्यदादीनि सर्वैर्नित्यम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदीनि, सर्वैः, नित्यम् (शेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीनि शब्दरूपाणि सर्वैः सहवचने नित्यं शिष्यन्ते त्यदाभिरन्येभ्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ त्यदादीनां नियोयद्यत्परंतत्तच्छिष्यते ॥

72. The pronouns 'tyad &c.' when spoken of along with any other noun, (pronoun other than 'tyad &c.') are always retained as *ekas'esha*, (to the exclusion of others).

The list of 'tyadādi' pronouns has been given under sūtra I. 1. 27. They are 12 words beginning with 'tyad' and ending with 'kim'; when these tyadādi pronouns are compounded with any other noun, (or a pronoun, which does not belong to their class), they prevail, the rest are dropped. The word 'sarva' is used in the aphorism to indicate 'universality'; *i. e. whatever* may be the word in composition with them, the 'tyad &c.' are retained to the exclusion of others. The word 'nitya' is used to indicate that this is an obligatory rule, and not optional, as were the last rules.

Thus सः (he) + देवदत्तः (Devadatta) = तौ (they two).

• *Vart.*—When त्यदादि words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Gaṇapāṭha remains, the rest are dropped. Thus यः + सः = यौ; यः + कः = कौ ॥ Thus यद् is read after तद् (see I. 1, 27). So यद् will be retained and not तद्. Similarly किम् is read after यद्, and therefore किम् is retained to the exclusion of यद्.

ग्राम्यपशुसंघेष्वतरुणेषु स्त्री ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम्य-पशु-संघेषु, अतरुणेषु, स्त्री, (शेषः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्राम्याणां पशूनां संघाः ग्राम्यपशुसंघाः; एतेषु सह विवक्षायां स्त्री शिष्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अनेकशफेभ्यतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

73. The feminine noun is only retained, when denoting a collection of domestic animals, not being young.

As a general rule, when there is a compounding of masculine and feminine nouns, the masculine noun is retained (see 67). The present sūtra is an exception to that rule. It ordains that when there is a compounding of words denoting group of domestic animals, of different genders,

the feminine noun is preferred; provided that the words should not relate to the young of such animals. The word 'ataruṇa' in the aphorism qualifies the word 'pas'u' with which it is in construction, and not the word 'saṅgha.' As गाव इमाः 'these cows (and bulls);' अजा इमाः 'these goats' (both males and females).

The rule only applies to *domestic* (grāmya) animals and not to *wild* animals; and only to *beasts* (pas'u) and not men. As रुख इमे, 'these wild deers' (male and female); पृश्ता इमे, 'these antelopes' (male and female); ब्राह्मणाः, 'the Brāhmaṇas (male and female); क्षत्रियाः, 'the Kshatriyas.' In all these the masculine noun is retained by Rule 67.

Vart.—This rule must be confined to domestic animals having divided hoof. Therefore अशवा इमे, 'these horses' (male and female). Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof.

Why have we used the word (saṅgha) "collection"? Observe एतौ गावौ चरतः, 'these two cows are grazing.' Here the word 'gāvaḥ' does not connote 'bull' also.

Why do we say "not being young"? वत्सा इमे 'these calves'; बर्करा इमे 'these kids.' Here the masculine noun is retained by the application of Rule 67.

ओ३म्

॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER III.

भूवादयो धातवः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूव-आदयः , धातवः ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ भू इत्येवमादयः शब्दा क्रियावचना धातु संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

1. The words beginning with bhû 'to become,' and denoting action, are called dhātu or verbal roots.

This defines the word dhātu or root. The list of Sanskrit verbs begins with the root bhû 'to be.' Sanskrit grammarians have divided all verbs into ten classes, according to certain modifications which their roots undergo before certain terminations. The ten classes are as follows:—

1. Bhû class. 2. Ad. 3. Hu. 4. Div. 5. Su. 6. Tud. 7. Rudh. 8. Tan. 9. Kri. 10. Chur.

• There are about two thousand verbs, and they are conjugated in two forms, some taking the Parasmaipada terminations only, the others the Atmanepada terminations and some both. The present chapter deals mostly with rules determining the nature of the verbal root, whether it is Parasmaipadi or Atmanepadi or both. A verb expresses action. The word dhātu is a word coined by older grammarians than Pāṇini and they employed the term in denoting a word expressing action. Here also, therefore, the word dhātu means a word which expresses action.

The वा in the sūtra is for the sake of auspiciousness; for the regular sandhi of भू + आदि is भ्वादि and not भूवादि; while Dr. Ballantyne considers that वा is a separate root: he translates the sūtra thus:—"Let the verbal roots bhû 'be,' vā 'blow' and the like be called dhātu."

उपदेशोऽजनुनासिक इत् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपदेशो , अच् , अनु-
नासिकः , इत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपदिश्यतेऽनेनेति उपदेशः, शास्त्रवाक्यानि सूत्रपाठः खिलपाठश्च तत्र योऽजनुनासिकः स इत्संज्ञो भवति ॥

2. The nasalized vowels are इत् in Upades'a, or original enunciation.

Anunāsika or nasalized vowels are इत् that is indicatory, when occurring in technical words. Thus in क्तिन्, विद्, विच् the anunāsika इ is इत्. The original sūtra contains the word 'upades'a' which we have translated as technical term. 'Upades'a' literally means 'instruction' or the first mentioning of a thing either in a sūtrapāṭha, or gaṇapāṭha, or dhatu pāṭha, &c.

From this sūtra up to sūtra 9, there is a description of servile or indicatory letters called इत्. "In Pāṇini's Grammar there is no visible sign of the nasality of a vowel—hence we can know a vowel to be nasalized only from Pāṇini's explicitly asserting that it is so, or from our finding that he treats it in such a way that we must conclude he regarded it as nasal." An upades'a is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (pratyaya), or an augment (āgama), or a verbal root (dhātu), or in short, any form of expression which occurs only in technical treatises of grammar, and which is not a word ready for use, but one of the supposed original elements of a word. Thus in the root एध् 'to increase,' the final अ is indicatory, the real root is एध्. So also the final अ of स्पृद्ध is इत् ॥

If the word is not an upades'a, then the nasal vowel is not इत् ॥ As अन्न औ अपः ॥ A word may be an upades'a, and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be इत् as the affix मनिन् in sūtra III. 2. 74. (आतो मनिन् कनिच् वनिपश्च) It is only the nasal vowel of an upades'a that becomes इत् and not all the vowels. The word इत् occurs in sūtras V. 2. 16. (आदितश्च &c.).

हलन्त्यम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल्-अन्त्यम्, (उपदेशे इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वादिः समुदायस्य यदन्त्यं हल् तद्विस्तृतं भवति ॥

3. In upades'a, the final consonant of roots, &c. is इत्.

All the final consonants of roots, affixes. &c., are indicatory. As in the pratyāhāra sūtras अ इ उ ण् ; here ण् is इत् ॥ क् ल क् ; here क् is इत् ॥ ए ओङ् ; here ङ् is इत् ॥ ऐ औच् ; here च् is इत् ॥ It is only in upades'a, that a final consonant is इत्. Not therefore, in अग्निचित् or सोममुत्, which are complete words.

न विभक्तौ तुस्माः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न विभक्तौ, तु-स्-माः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेण प्राप्तयानिस्तंज्ञायां विभक्तौ वर्त्तमानानां तवर्ग सकार मकाराणां प्रतिषेध उच्यते ॥

4. The final dental consonants, and the final स् and ण् are not इत् in affixes called vibhakti or inflective affixes.

This is an exception to the previous sūtra which declared all final consonants to be इत्. In case terminations, the final त्, थ्, द्, ध्, न्, स्, and म्, are not इत्. Thus the case termination of nominative plural is जस्. Here the final स्, though a consonant is not an इत्; and is not rejected, as in ब्राह्मणाः ॥ The word तु in the sūtra means the letters of the class त् by virtue of sūtra 69 Chapter I. (see ante). The word vibhakli will be defined later on in sūtra I. 4. 104. These are terminations applied to nouns in declining them through various cases; and to verbs in conjugating them. Thus in sūtra VII. 1. 12, (दाङ्सिङ्सामिनात्स्याः) the vibhaktis इत्, आत् and स्य replace दा, ङसि and ङस्. Here the final त् of the affix आत् is not indicative and hence not rejected, as वृक्षात्. Similarly verbal terminations तस् and थस् as पचतः, पचथः ॥ So also the final म् as ताम् and तम् in अपचताम् and अपचतम् ॥

This exception applies only to vibhaktis and not to affixes in general. Thus the finals of यत् (III. 1. 97 अचोयत्;) युस् (V. 2. 123, ऊर्णाया युस्) and अम् (III. 1. 78 रुधादिभ्य अम्) are इत् and are rejected. This exception, however, does not apply to the vibhakti अत् (in V. 3. 12 किमोऽत् or III. 4. 106, इदोऽत्). In those two sūtras the final त् of the vibhakti is इत्. The reason of this is, that the present sūtra is an anitya sūtra, i. e. a rule not of general application. In sūtra V. 3. 24, (इदमस्थमुः) we find, 'the word इदम् takes the vibhakti यमु in the sense of mode or manner.' As इद्+यमु=इत्थम्, 'in this manner.' Now यमु is a vibhakti by V. 3. 1. (प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिः), the उ is इत्, the real vibhakti is यम्. Now had the present sūtra been of universal application, then there would have been no necessity of adding this उ as indicative letter, which has been evidently added to save the म् of यम् from becoming an इत्. This sūtra is consequently an antiya sūtra.

आदिर्जिङुडवः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदिः, जि-ङु-डवः, (इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जि ङु ड इत्ये तेषां सङ्ख्यायानामादितो वर्त्तमानानामित्संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

5. The initial ji, tu, and du are इत् ॥

The syllables जि, ङु and डु, standing at the beginning of a root are indicative; as जिनिदा 'to have affectionate pleasure.' The real root is निद, the जि is servile. So ङुनदि 'to rejoice; be glad' the real root being नद्. So डुवाह 'to give' the real root being दा.

The जि shows that the past participle क्त has the power of the present III. 2. 187 (जीतः क्तः). As जिफला—फुल्लः 'blown'; जिमिदा—भिन्नः 'fat'; जिधृषा—धृष्टः 'bold'; जिद्विषा—द्विषन्नः 'soft'; जिहन्धी—इद्धः 'kindled.'

The ङु subjoined to a root serves to show that it admits the affix अयु to form a noun indicative of the act (III. 3. 89 द्वितोऽयुच्); as द्वेष्टुः—वेष्टयुः 'shaking'; ङु ओदिव—द्वययुः 'swelling.'

The डु indicates that the root to which it is subjoined admits of the affix जित (III. 3. 88, द्वितः क्तः) to form a noun or adjective attributive of the act

by which the substantive thing has been produced, as डुकृम्—कृत्रिमम् 'artificial' डूपषप्—पक्त्रिमम् 'ripe'; डुवप्—उष्विमम् 'sown.'

If these three syllables do not stand in the beginning of a verb, they are not indicatory; as पट्टयति, कण्टहयति, &c.

षः प्रत्ययस्य, ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ षः, प्रत्ययस्य (आदि इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षकारः प्रत्ययस्याहिरित्संज्ञो भवति ॥

6. The initial ष of an affix is indicatory.

The initial ष of an affix gets the name of इत् and is rejected. Thus by Rule III. 1. 145 (शिल्पिनि षुन्) the affix षुन् is added to a verb to indicate proficient in the art expressed by the verb. The ष and न् are इत् and अक् takes the place of वु (VII. 1. 1, युवोरनाकौ). Thus नृत् + षुन् = नर्त् + अक् = नर्तकः 'a dancer' (by profession); fem. नर्तकी (IV. 1. 41, षिद्वैरादिभ्यश्च 'words formed by affixes having an indicatory ष take the affix डीष् in the feminine'): so also रजका, fem. रजकी.

The initial ष of an affix only is इत् and not every initial ष. Thus not in षोडः 'six,' or षडिकः ॥ The ष must be initial, therefore it is not इत् in the affix टिषच् in अविमहोष्टिषच्, (Up I. 45) as अविषः 'an ocean', महिषः 'a buffalo.'

वुद् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वुद् (प्रत्ययस्य आदिः, इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चवर्ग टवर्गौ प्रत्ययस्याही इत्संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

7. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix are indicatory.

The consonants च्, छ्, ज्, झ्, ञ्, ट्, ड्, ढ्, ण्, are always इत् and are rejected when initial in affixes. The word 'affix' of the previous sūtra governs this also.

As the affix चफञ् chapañ in sūtra (IV. 1. 98 गोत्रे कुञ्जादिभ्यश्चफञ्). Here च् is indicatory, as, कौञ्जायन्यः ॥ The initial छ् chh of an affix is always replaced by ईय (VII. 1. 2 आयेनेयीनीयियः कड खच्छपां प्रत्ययादीनाम्). The initial ज् of an affix is इत्. As, जस् (Nom. Pl. term) ब्राह्मणाः ॥ The initial झ् of an affix is always replaced by अन्त, as भू + शप् + झि = भवन्ति ॥ (VII. 1. 3 होऽन्तः). The initial ञ् of an affix is इत् as in उय which comes after the words शण्डिक &c. As शण्डिकयः (IV. 3. 92 शण्डिकादिभ्योऽयः). The indicatory ञ् causes वृद्धि by rules VII. 2. 115, 116 and 117 : (अचौञ्णिति, अतउपधायाः, तद्धितेव्वचामादेः).

The initial ट् ṭ of an affix is इत् as in III. 2. 16 (चरेट्: the root चर् takes the affix ट् when compounded with a noun in the locative). As कुरुचरः 'who goes among the Kurus.' The feminines of words formed by this affix take डीष् (IV. 1. 15 टिङ्ङाणञ्ङयसञ् &c.) As कुरुचरी, मद्रचरी. The initial ड् ḍ of an affix is always replaced by इक् (VII. 3. 50 ढश्चेकः). The initial ढ् ḍh of an office is इत्, as in III. 2. 97 (सप्तम्यां जनेडः the root जन् takes the affix ड् when in composition

with a word in the locative, as उपसरजः, मन्दुरजः. The इ indicates that the final of the word called हि should be elided when an affix having indicatory इ is added. The initial इ of an affix is replaced by एव (VII. 1. 2.)

The letter ए is always an इत् when initial. As in the aphorism IV. 4 85 (अन्नास्मः) the affix ए comes after the word अन्न 'food.' As अन्न + ए = अन्नः. The ण causes Vṛiddhi.

This sūtra could very well have been included in the last aphorism. Why has it then been made a separate aphorism? The reply is that the present sūtra declares an anitya rule—that is to say, a rule which is not universally true. The initial palatal or lingual of every affix is not indicatory. Thus in the affixes चुञ्चुप् and चणप् the initial च् is not indicatory but forms part of the real affix. As विद्याचुञ्चुः विद्याचणः 'famous for one's learning.' See S. V. 2. 26. तेन वित्तश्चुञ्चुप् चणपौ. Similarly the initial ट् of the affix टीटच् (V. 2. 31 अवात्कुटारच्च, नते नासिकायाः संज्ञायां टीटच् नाटञ्जटच्चः), is not इत्. As अवटीटम् 'flat nosed.'

Of course it is the initial palatal and lingual which are servile; if these letters occur in the middle of an affix, they will not be indicatory. As ट् of the affix अठच् is not indicatory in sūtra V. 2. 35 (कर्मणि घटोऽठच्) कर्मठः 'dexterous.'

लशक्तद्धिते ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल-श-कु, अतद्धिते, (प्रत्ययस्य, आदिः इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्धितवर्जितस्य प्रत्ययस्यादितो वर्त्तमाना लकार शकार कवर्गा इत्संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

8. The initial l and s', and the gutturals of all affixes, except taddhita, are indicatory.

The initial ल, श, क्, ख, ण, घ, ङ्, of affixes are indicatory, except in Taddhita affixes. Thus the initial ल् in ल्युद् is इत् (III. 3 115 ल्युदच्) । चि+ल्युद् = चयनम् (VII. 1. 1) 'collecting.' The initial श् in शप् is इत् (III. 1. 68. कर्तरि शप्) श् + शप् + तिप् = भो+अ+ति=भवति 'he is.' The initial क् is इत् as in क्त and क्तवत् (I. 1. 26), as भुक्तः 'eating' भुक्तवान्. The initial ख् is इत् as in खच् (III. 2. 38 मियवशे वदः खच् the word वद takes the affix khach when compounded with मिय and वश्) मियवदः 'speaking kindly', वशवदः 'submissive.' The initial ण् is इत् as in the affix ग्लु (III. 2. 139 ग्लजित्यथ ग्लु), ग्लस्तुः 'languid', जिघ्णुः 'victorious', स्यास्तुः 'unmoveable.' The initial घ् is इत् as in घुरच् (III. 2. 161 भञ्जभासभिदो घुरच्) भञ्ज + घुरच् = भङ्गम् 'brittle.' The initial ङ् is इत्, as in ङसि (termination of the ablative sing.) ङस् ditto of genitive sing. (IV. 1. 2), as सुमनस् + ङस् = सुमनस् + अस् = सुमनसः 'of a well minded.' In Taddhita affixes however, these initials ल, श and gutturals are not इत्; and are therefore not elided. Thus चूडा + लच् = चूडालः (V. 2. 96. प्राणिस्यादातो लजन्यतरस्याम्) 'crested'; लोम + श

=लोमशः (V. 2. 100 लोमादिषामादिपिच्छादिभ्यः शनेलच्) 'hairy'; वृक्ष + कन् = वृक्षकः
V. 3 81-86 जातिनाम्नः कन्) 'a small tree.'

तस्य लोपः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, लोपः, (इत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येत्संज्ञकस्य लोपो भवति ॥

9. Of this, (namely of that which has been called इत्), there is elision.

This sūtra declares the function of इत्; namely it is a mere indicatory letter, and must be rejected. It is useful only as a mnemonic and is not a part of the term.

The word tasya in the sūtra indicates that the substitution of lopa must be in the place of the whole term called इत्, and not only in the place of the final letter, which last is the general rule (see. I. 1. 52). Therefore, the whole of जि, टु and डु is rejected and not only their finals.

यथा सङ्ख्यमनुदेशः समानाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा—सङ्ख्यम्, अनुदेशः, समानाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानां समसंख्यानां समपरिपाठितानामनुदेशिनामनुदेशिनां च यथा क्रममुद्देशिभिरनुदेशिनः सम्बन्ध्यन्ते ॥

10. When a rule involves the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual correspondence or assignment of each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

Thus sūtra III. 1 134 (नन्दिमहिषचादिभ्यो ल्युणिन्यचः) declares—'the affixes ल्यु, णिनि and अच् are applied to नन्दि, महि and पच् class of words.' It means the affix ल्यु is applied to the words of नन्दि class, the affix णिनि to words of महि class, and अच् to words of पच् class. The application must be respectively according to order, and not hap-hazard. Similarly in VI. 1 77 इको यणचि (if a vowel follows) in the place of इ, उ, ऋ, ए there is यण् i. e., य, र, ल, व् ॥ So also see S. IV. 3. 94 (तूदीशालातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड् डक् छण् डञ् यकः) where the four affixes ḍhak, chhaṇ, dhaṛ, and yak are applied respectively to the words tūḍī, s'alātura, varmati and kūchavāra; i. e., the first affix in the order of enumeration to the first word, the second affix to the second word, &c. As तौदेयः, शालातुरीयः, वर्मतेयः and कौचवार्च्यः ॥

Why do we say 'of equal members'? This rule will not apply if the number of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted are unequal. As in sūtra I. 4. 90, लक्ष्येत्यभूताख्यानभागवीप्साछ प्रति पर्यनवः for here the words lakṣhaṇa, &c., in the first part of

the sūtra are four in number, while the words prati &c. are only three. That sūtra therefore must be read as thus. "The words प्रति, परि and अनु are karma pravachanīya, whenever they indicate either lakṣhaṇa (a mark), itthambhūta khyāna (a statement of mere circumstance) ; bhāga (division) ; or vipsa (desire)."

स्वरितेनाधिकारः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरितेन, अधिकारः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितो नाम स्वरविशेषो वर्णधर्मः तेन चिह्नाधिकारो वेदितव्यः ॥

11. In these aphorisms, when a word is marked with a svarita accent, by that an adhikāra or a governing rule is to be understood.

When in this collection of grammatical sūtras, there is any sūtra that has a circumflex accent, it denotes that it is either the beginning of a subject and the subsequent sūtras are governed by it, or that it ends a subject and separates the previous sūtras from the following.

As a rule, the sūtras are not marked with accents ; it is therefore from commentaries that one has to learn whether a sūtra has a svarita or not. Thus the following sūtras must evidently have svarita as they are governing sūtras ; प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1.) धातोः (III. 1. 91), अङ्गस्य (VI. 4. 1), भस्य (VI. 4. 129).

अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदम् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्त-ङ-इतः आत्मनेपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्ततो य ध.तवो ङितश्च तेभ्य एव आत्मने पदं भवति नान्येभ्यः ॥

12. After a root which has an indicatory anudatta vowel (anudāttet) or an indicatory ñ (ñit), the affixes are those of the Atmanepada.

The word 'atmanepada' here governs all the subsequent sūtras up to sū. 77 inclusive, and is understood in them all ; and will not therefore be repeated. Thus of the verb आत् the final अ is anudatta and is इत्. It is therefore an ātmanepadi verb. As अस्ति. So वृद्ध-सूते, शीङ्-क्षेते.

भावकर्मणोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाव-कर्मणोः, (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे कर्मणि आत्मनेपदम् भवति ॥

13. An atmanepada affix is the substitute of the affix ल (III. 4. 69) when it denotes the action of the verb or the object of the verb.

Sūtra III. 4. 69 declares the "letter ल (लट्, लिट् &c.) is placed after transitive verbs in denoting the object also as well as the agent ; and after intransitives in marking the condition (i.e., the action itself which the verb imports) also as well as the agent." The Paras. and Atman. affixes would

have come, therefore, generally after all these verbs. The present sūtra restricts Atman. affixes to bhāva and karma verbs.

This is clear. Impersonal verbs and passive verbs as a rule are conjugated in the ātmanepada and take the terminations of that pada. These originally were verbs expressive of states rather than of actions. As of भाव we have ग्रायते भवता 'you dislike' (lit. 'it is disliked by you'), सुष्यते भवता 'you sleep.' Similarly passive verbs as क्रियते कटः 'the mat is made'; ह्रियते भारः 'the load is carried.'

All verbs in Sanskrit may have three voices, *viz*, active, passive, and middle or impersonal; active voice is generally parasmaipada. The reflexive verbs known as कर्मकर्तारि are also ātmanepadi. Thus दूयते केदारः स्वयमेव 'the wood cuts of itself.' See sūtra 78.

कर्त्तरि कर्म व्यतिहारे ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, कर्म-व्यतिहारे ॥ (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्म व्यतिहारे तद्विशिष्ट क्रिया वचनाद्भातोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

14. In denoting the agent, when reciprocity of action is to be expressed, the affixes of the Atmanepada are employed.

The active or कर्मवाच्य verbs when denoting reciprocal action are ātmanepadi. As, व्यतिपचन्ते, 'they cook for each other,' व्यतिलुनते 'he performs cutting of wood which was the appropriate office of another.'

The words "reciprocity or interchange of action" of this sūtra govern and are understood in the two following sūtras also.

The word karma in the sūtra means action and not the technical 'karma' meaning 'object' and the word vyatihāra means reciprocity or interchange. When an action which was appropriate to one person is performed by another, whose duty it was not, that is called 'interchange of action.' When such interchange is not meant Paras. is used. As लुनन्ति 'they cut.' The word kartari here is used for the sake of the subsequent aphorism 78, which see.

न गति हिंसार्थेभ्यः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, गति-हिंसा-अर्थेभ्यः ॥ (आत्मनेपदम् कर्मव्यतिहारे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थेभ्यो हिंसार्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः कर्म व्यतिहारे आत्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्रतिषेधो हसादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हस्तेऽप्रतिषेधः ॥

15. After verbs having the sense of 'motion,' or 'injury,' when expressing interchange of action, the Atmanepada affixes are not used.

This aphorism prohibits Atmanepada affixes in certain cases where by force of the last sūtra Atmanepada affixes would have been obtained. As व्यतिगच्छन्ति 'they go against each other,' व्यतिहिंसन्ति 'they injure each other.' व्यतिघ्नन्ति 'they fight together.'

The word 'not' of this sūtra is understood in the subsequent sūtra.

Vart.—This prohibition extends to the verbs हस 'to laugh,' and the rest. As व्यतिहसन्ति, व्यतिजल्पन्ति, व्यतिपठन्ति ॥

Vart.—Prohibition must be made of the verbs हतति 'to injure,' as संप्रहरन्ते राजानः ॥

इतरेतरान्योन्योपपदाच्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतर-इतर, अन्यः-अन्यः, उपपदात्, च, (कर्मव्य० आत्मने० न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतरेतरोऽन्योन्य इत्येवमुपपदाद्भातोः कर्मव्यतिहारे आत्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परस्परोपपदाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16. And after the verbs which take the words itaretara 'each other,' and anyonya 'one another,' as upapada (or dependant qualifying words), the affixes of Atmanepada are not used, though reciprocity of action be denoted.

Thus इतरेतरस्य व्यति लुनन्ति 'they cut each other' अन्योन्यस्य व्यतिलुनन्ति 'they cut one another.'

Vart.—This rule must also be applied when the word परस्पर is in composition with the verb, as an upapada. As परस्परस्य व्यतिलुनन्ति.

नेर्विशः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नेः, विशः, (आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नेः परस्माद् विश आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

17. After the verb vis' 'to enter,' when preceded by the preposition ni, the Atmanepada affixes are employed.

As विशति 'he enters,' but निविशते 'he enters in.'

Even when the augment अद् of the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional tenses intervenes between the root and the preposition, terminations are of the ātmanepada. As न्यविशत् 'he entered in.'

The नि of the sūtra must be an upasarga, because that has a sense, and not any नि. On this there is this paribhāṣā:—अर्यवद्ग्रहणेनानर्थकस्य "a combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning." Thus in मधुनि विशन्ति भ्रमराः 'the beetles enter the honey flowers.'

Here the नि is a part of the word मधुनि and has no sense by itself, and therefore the verb is in the Parasmaipada and not in the Atmanepada.

परिव्यवेभ्यः क्रियः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परि-वि-अवेभ्यः, क्रियः,
(आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिव्यवेभ्य उत्तरात् क्रीयातिरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

18. After the verb kri 'to purchase,' when preceded by pari, vi or ava, the Atmanepada affix is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb दुक्रीम् 'to buy or barter,' has an indicatory झ् and therefore, by sūtra 72 it will be Atmanepadi when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra, therefore, refers to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root क्री 'to buy' as a general rule takes the terminations of both padas, but when it is preceded by pari, vi, or ava, it is restricted to Atmanepada terminations. As प्रीक्रीणीति 'he buys'; विक्रीणीति 'he sells'; अवक्रीणीति 'he buys.'

The word pari, vi, and ava must be upasargas, therefore, in the following example, there is no Atmanepada termination, because the vi there is not a preposition but a noun, as, बहुविक्रीणीति वनम्.

विपराभ्यां जेः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विपराभ्याम्, जेः (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि परा पूर्वाज्जयतेर्धातोरान्मनेपदं भवति ॥

19. After the verb ji 'to conquer,' preceded by vi or parâ, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

This sūtra debars S. 78 by which the root जि is generally Parasmaipadi.

As विजयते 'he conquers', पराजयते 'he conquers.' The words vi and parâ must be upasargas (prepositions), for the application of this rule. In the following examples, they are used as substantives बहुविजयति वनम्, पराजयति सेना ॥

आङो दोऽनास्य विहरणे ॥ २० ॥ पदानिः ॥ आङः, दः, अना-
स्य-विहरणे, (आ०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वाहदातेरनास्यविहरणे वर्त्तमानाशान्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आस्यविहरणसमानक्रितादपि प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वाङ् कर्मकाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

20. After the verb *dâ* 'to give,' preceded by *ân*, and when not meaning 'to open the mouth,' the Atmanepada affix is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The root *वृ* is generally both Parasmaipadi and Atmanepadi (see S. 72). But when preceded by the preposition *आ*, it is restricted to the Atmanepada. As *विद्यामादन्ते* 'he acquires knowledge.' But when it means "to widen the mouth" whether actually or metaphorically, it is parasmaipadi. As *आस्यं व्याददाति*. 'He expands his own mouth.'

Vart :—The prohibition also applies when the action is similar to the act of opening the mouth. As *विपादिकां व्याददाति* 'he opens the tumour.' *कूटं व्याददाति नदी* 'the river breaks the bank.'

Vart :—When the action does not affect the agents' own body the verb is Atmanepadi, as *व्याददतेपिपीलिकाः पतंगस्य मुखम्*, 'the ants open the mouth of a locust.'

क्रीडोऽनुसंपरिभ्यश्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीडः, अनु-सम्-परिभ्यः, च, (आडः, आत्मने प०)

- वृत्तिः ॥ क्रीड् विहारे एतस्माद् अनुसम्परि इत्येवं पूर्वाद् आङ् पुर्वाच्चात्मनेपदं भवति ॥
- वार्तिकम् ॥ समोऽकूजने इति वक्तव्यम् ॥
- वार्तिकम् ॥ आगनेः क्षमायानात्मने पदं वक्तव्यम् ॥
- वार्तिकम् ॥ शिक्षेजिज्ञासायाम् ॥
- वार्तिकम् ॥ आशिषिनाथः ॥
- वार्तिकम् ॥ हरतेर्गतताच्छील्ये ॥
- वार्तिकम् ॥ किरतेर्द्विर्जीविका कुलायकरणविवति वक्तव्यम् ॥
- वार्तिकम् ॥ आङ्निपुप्रच्छोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥
- वार्तिकम् ॥ शप उपालम्भन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

21. After the verb *krîd* 'to play' preceded by *anu*, *sam* or *pari*, as well as *ân*, the Atmanepada affix is used.

The word "आङ्" is to be read into the *sûtra* by virtue of the conjunction च in the text. As *आक्रीडते संक्रीडते अनुक्रीडते*, or *परिक्रीडते* 'he plays.'

Vart.—When the verb *क्रीड्* compounded with *सम्* means to make a rattling or creaking noise, it does not take Atmanepada terminations. As *संक्रीडन्ति शकटानि* 'the carts rattle or creak.' The word *anu*, *pari* &c., being taught along with *sam*, indicates that the upasargas *anu*, *pari*, &c., are to be taken and not the karmapravachaniya *anu* *pari*, &c. Therefore, when these prefixes are used as karmapravachaniya, they do not cause the verb *क्रीड्* to

take the *âtmanepada* terminations as माणवकमनुक्रीडति 'he plays in imitation of the boy.' For the definition and action of *karmapravachaniya*, see. I. 4. 83 and II. 3. 8.

Vart.—The verb आगम् takes the *âtmanepada* terminations when meaning 'to wait for', 'to overlook', 'to have patience', as, आगमयस्व तावन् माणवकम् । 'Have patience with the boy.'

Vart.—The verb शिञ्च takes *âtmanepada* terminations, when meaning 'to enquire':—as, विद्यासु शिञ्चते 'he investigates sciences.'

Vart.—The verb नाथ् when meaning 'to bless,' takes *âtmanepada* terminations, as, सर्पियो नाथते 'he blesses with clarified butter.' मधुनो नाथते । Why do we say 'when meaning to bless'? Observe, माणवकमनुनाथति, 'he begs of Manavakâ.'

Vart.—The verb हरति takes *âtmanepada* terminations when meaning 'to take after the nature of the parents.' As पैतृकमन्वा अनुहरते 'the horses resemble their father.' मातृकं गावोऽनुहरन्ते 'the cows always imitate their mother.' But when not having this meaning, we have मातुरनुहरति 'he resembles his mother.'

Vart.—The verb किरति takes *âtmanepada* terminations when meaning 'to scratch out or scatter with joy, for abode or food.' As अपस्किरते वृषभो हृष्टः 'the happy bull scratches with joy.' अपस्किरते कुक्कुटो भक्षार्थी 'the cock scratches in search of food,' अपस्किरते श्वाऽऽश्रयार्थी 'the dog scratches to make his abode.' When not having these senses we have अपकिरति कुसुमम् 'he scatters about the flowers.' The dental स in *apaskirate* is added by *sûtra* VI. 1. 142. अपाचतुष्पाच्छकुनिष्वालेखने ॥

Vart.—The verbs नु 'to cry' and प्रच्छ 'to ask' take the *âtmanepada* terminations when preceded by the preposition आङ्, as आनुते शृगालः 'the jackal howls,' आपृच्छते गुरुम् 'he questions the Guru.'

Vart.—The verb शप् when meaning 'to touch the body by the word' takes *âtmanepada* affixes. As देवदत्ताय शपते 'he promises by oath to Devadatta.' Otherwise we have शपति 'he curses.'

समवप्रविभ्य स्थः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-अव-प्र-विभ्यः, स्थः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् अव प्र वि इत्येवं पूर्वात् तिष्ठते रात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आङः स्थः प्रतिज्ञान इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

22. After the verb *sthâ* 'to stand,' preceded by *sam*, *ava*, *pra*, *vi*, the *Atmanepada* affix is used.

As संतिष्ठते 'he stays with,' अवतिष्ठते 'he waits patiently,' प्रतिष्ठते 'he sets forth,' वितिष्ठते 'he stands apart.'

Vart.—The verb स्या when preceded by आङ् and meaning 'solemn declaration' takes âtmanepada terminations ; as अस्ति संस्कारमात्रमातिष्ठते ॥ Or to take another example, जलं विशं वा तव कारणादास्यास्ये 'for thee I shall surely have recourse to water or poison.'

प्रकाशनस्थेयाख्ययोश्च ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रकाशन-स्थेय-आख्ययोः, च, (स्था, आत्मने०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकाशने स्थेयाख्यायां च तिष्ठतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

23. After the verb sthâ when meaning 'to indicate one's intentions to another,' or 'to make an award as an arbitrator,' the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word prakâś'ana means disclosing one's intentions. The word stheyākhyā is a compound of stheya 'arbitrator ; and ākhyā 'name.'

As तिष्ठते जायापत्ये 'the wife expresses her wish to the husband;' त्वयि-तिष्ठते 'he refers to thee for settlement;' संशय्य कर्णादिषु तिष्ठते यः, 'who, when he is in doubt, has recourse to Karṇa as his judge or umpire.'

उदोऽनूर्ध्वकर्मणि ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदः, अनूर्ध्व-कर्मणि, (स्था, आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत् पूर्वात् तिष्ठते रनूर्ध्वकर्मणि वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उद ईहायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

24. After the verb sthâ, preceded by ut, when not meaning 'to get up or rise,' as from a seat, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word 'karma' in this aphorism means 'action,' and does not mean the grammatical karma or 'object.'

As गेहे उत्तिष्ठते 'he strives for the house' so also कुटुम्बे उत्तिष्ठते ॥ But आसनादुत्तिष्ठति 'he rises up from the seat.'

Vart.—The force of the preposition ut must be to express ईहा, 'effort, exertion, wish or desire, to surprise or excell.' If this be not the force of ut, the terminations are those of the Parasmaipada. As अस्माद् ग्रामात् शतमुत्तिष्ठति 'a hundred is yielded by this village.' The word ईहा qualifies the word 'anūrdhakarmaṇi,' and does not debar the latter.

उपान्मन्त्रकरणे ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, मन्त्र-करणे, (स्था, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वात्तिष्ठतेर्मन्त्रकरणेऽर्थवर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उपादेवपूजासंगति करणमित्री करणपथिष्विति वाच्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वा लिप्तायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

25. After the verb *sthâ*, preceded by *upa*, when meaning 'to adore,' the Atmanepada affix is used.

As ऐन्द्रागार्हपत्यमुपतिष्ठते 'he approaches with prayers or worships the Gârhapatya fire with aindra hymns.'

If it does not mean 'praising with hymns' the terminations which the verb takes, are those of the Parasmaipada, as भर्तारमुपतिष्ठति यौवनेन 'she approaches the husband through youth.'

Varl.—The verb *स्था* after the preposition *उप* takes the terminations of the atmanepada when meaning 'worshipping a deity,' 'to approach for intercourse or uniting or joining,' 'to form friendship with,' and 'to lead to as a way.' Thus:—1st Deva puja आदित्यमुपतिष्ठते 'he worships the Aditya,' 2. Sangati karaṇa पतिष्ठतिष्ठते नारी 'the wife approaches the husband,' रथिकामुपतिष्ठते 'forms union with charioteers.' 3. Mitri karaṇa सन्तमुपतिष्ठते साधुः 'the good man approaches the saints to make friends with.' What is the difference between Sangati-karaṇa and Mitri-karaṇa? Sangati-karaṇa means drawing near and approaching together in space, as गङ्गायमुनामुपतिष्ठते 'the Ganges joins the Jumna.' While the friendly relations may be established without coming in physical contact. 4. Patha:—अयं पन्थाः सुधमुपतिष्ठते 'this road leads to Sruḥna.'

Varl.—It must be stated that the Atmanepada is optional when the sense is 'desire of getting.' As भित्तुको ब्राह्मणकुलमुपतिष्ठते or उपतिष्ठति 'a beggar waits at the place of a Brahmana with the desire of getting something.'

अकर्मकाच्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात्, च, (उपस्था आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वात् तिष्ठतेरकर्मकादकर्मकक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

26. After the verb *sthâ*, preceded by *upa*, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada affix is used.

As भोजनकाले उपतिष्ठते 'he stands ready at the time of dinner,' यावदभुक्तमुपतिष्ठते 'he is present whenever it is dinner time,' यावदोदनमुपतिष्ठते 'he is present whenever there is food, that is he comes at the time of dinner.' The word *bhukta* is formed by adding the affix *kta* to the root, and has the force of condition' here.

The phrase 'when used in the Intransitive' governs the three succeeding sūtras also.

If it is transitive; the verb *upasthâ* takes the parasmaipada terminations. As राजानमुपतिष्ठते 'he approaches the king.'

उद्विभ्यां तपः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्-विभ्याम्, तपः, (अकर्मकात् आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद् विड्येवं पूर्वात् तपतेरकर्मकक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वाङ्ग कर्मकाच्चेति व। ॥ २७ ॥

27. After the verb *tapa* 'to shine,' when used intransitively, and preceded by *ut* or *vi*, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

As उत्तपते or वितपते विद्यया विद्यार्थी 'The scholar shines with knowledge.' But in transitive verbs, it is Parasmaipadi. As उत्तपति सुवर्णं सुवर्णकारः 'the goldsmith heats the gold,' वितपति पृष्ठं सविता 'the sun heats the back.'

Vart.—It must be stated that the terminations are of the *âtmanepada*, though the verb *ut-tapa* or *vi-tapa* be transitive, when the object is some limb of one's own body. As उत्तपते पाणिम् or वितपते पाणिम् or पृष्ठं 'he heats his own hand or back.' The word स्वाङ्ग means one's own body and not the *paribhâshika* or the technical स्वाङ्ग meaning "a thing which not being liquid or gaseous and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being and though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being." (See IV. 1. 54. स्वाङ्गाद्योपसर्जनार्थसंयोगोपधात्). Therefore not so in the following देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तस्य पृष्ठमुत्तपति 'Devadatta heats the back of Yajñadatta.' When the preposition is other than *ut* or *vi*, *parasmaipada* affix is employed; as, निटपति.

आङोयमहनः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङः, यम-हनः, (अकर्मकात् आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यम उपरमे, हन हिंसागत्योः । ताभ्यामकर्मकक्रिया वचनाभ्यामाङ् पूर्वाभ्यामात्मने-पदं भवति ॥

28. After the verb *yam* 'to stop,' and *han* 'to injure' when used intransitively and preceded by *ân*, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The word intransitive of s. 26 is understood here also. Both these verbs are generally *parasmaipadi*. When they take the affix *आ* they become *âtmanepadi*. *Yam* belongs to *Bhva*di class; and *han* to *Adâ*di class. Thus आ+यम्+ञप्+ते=आ+यच्छ+अते (VII. 3. 77 इषुगमियमां छः 'chh is the substitute of the finals of ish, gam and yam, when an affix having an indicative इ follows) =आयच्छते 'it spreads.' आयच्छते and आयच्छन्ते; -so also आ+हन्+ते=आ+ह+ते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 37) अनुदात्तोपदेशवन्तितनोत्याशीनामनुनासिकलोपो झलिकृङिति=आहते, 'he strikes.' आ=हन्+आते=आ+हन्+आते (I. 2. 4 and VI. 4. 98 सार्वधातुकमपित् गमहनजनखनघसां लोपः कृङि त्यनङि)=आह्नाते (VII. 3. 54), (हो हन्तेऽभिज्ञेषु) Pl. आहन्ते.

Not so when these verbs are used in the transitive, as आयच्छति कूपार-ज्जुम् 'he draws up the rope from the well,' आहन्ति वृषलं पादेन 'they kill the sinner with the foot.'

Vart.—When the object is some member of the agent's own body these verbs take the Atmanepada terminations though transitive. As आयच्छते पाणिम् 'he puts forth his own hand.' आहते शिरं 'he hurts his own head.' When the object is some limb of another's body, the terminations are of the Parasmaipada, as आहन्ति शिरः परकीयं 'they hurt others' head.'

समोगमृच्छिप्रच्छिस्वरत्यर्तिश्रुविदिभ्यः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः ,
गमि-ऋच्छि-प्रच्छि-स्वरति-अर्त्ति-श्रु-विदिभ्यः (अकर्म० आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वेभ्यो गमि ऋच्छि प्रच्छि स्वरति अर्त्तिश्रुविदिभ्येत्येतेभ्योऽकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः
आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दृशेभ्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

29. After the verbs gam 'to go,' richchh 'to become hard,' prachchh 'to ask,' svar 'to find fault,' ri 'to go,' s'rū 'to hear,' and vid 'to know,' when used intransitively and preceded by sam, the Atmanepada affix is employed.

The above seven verbs when preceded by the preposition सम् and used in the intransitive, take the terminations of the Atmanepada. As संगच्छते (VII. 3. 77) 'he joins,' समृच्छते 'he becomes hard or goes.' संपृच्छते 'he asks,' संस्वरते 'he blames,' समरन्त 'they are attained.' In the case of this last verb which belongs both to Bhvādi and Juhutyādi classes it is Atmanepadi only in the Aorist. As सम् + कृ + अङ् + त (III. 1. 56 सतिशास्त्यर्त्तिभ्यश्च) = समृत, as मा संहृत (VI. 4. 75 बहुलं छन्दस्यमाङ्गयोगेऽपि) सम् + कृ + अङ् + अन्त = समरन्त (VII. 4. 16 ऋदृशौऽङिगुणः). This occurs generally in the Vedas. The verb विद् must have the meaning of 'to know,' and not that of 'to acquire.' संशृणुते 'he hears,' संविन्दे 'he knows.'

Vart.—The root दृश् (to see) after the preposition सम् when used intransitively takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as संपश्यते 'he sees.' But when transitive, it takes Parasmaipada terminations as ग्रामम् संपश्यति 'he sees the town.'

निसमुपविभ्यो हः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-सम्-उप-विभ्यः , हः ,
(आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि रुम उप वि इत्येवं पूर्वाद् ह्यतेर्द्धात्तोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उपसर्गादस्यट्यूद्योर्वा वचनम् ॥

30. After the verbs hve 'to call,' preceded by ni, sam, upa, and vi, the Atmanepada is used, even, when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb ह्वे 'to call' whether transitive or intransitive is Atmanepadi after the above prepositions. The condition of being Intransitive does not apply to this sūtra, and from this sūtra forward general rules of Atmanepada are treated of. As निह्वयते, संह्वयते, उपह्वयते ॥

The verb ह्वे is marked in the Dhātupāṭha with a अ and therefore by sūtra 72 of this Chapter, it will take the terminations of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. But even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the verb ह्वे takes the terminations of the Atmanepada when preceded by the above prefixes.

Var.—The verbs अत् 'to throw' and ऊह् 'to note' take optionally Atmanepada affixes when compounded with upasargas. As निरस्वति—न्ते 'he casts out,' समूहति—न्ते 'he collects.'

स्पर्द्धायामाङः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पर्द्धायाम्, आङः, (ह्वः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पर्द्धायां विषये आङ् पूर्वाद् ह्वयतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

31. After the verb ह्वे, when meaning 'to challenge' and preceded by अन्, the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As मल्लो मल्लमाह्वयते 'an athlete challenges another athlete (in order to conquer him)'; छात्रश्छात्रमाह्वयते 'one student emulates with another student.'

• This sūtra is also for the purpose of showing that the root ह्वे takes the Atmanepada terminations even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word spardhā means to emulate, to vie, to desire, to conquer another. When the verb ह्वे has not the above signification, it takes the terminations of the parasmaipada. As गामाह्वयति गोपालः 'the cowherd calls the cows.'

गन्धनावक्षेपणसेवनसाहसिक्यप्रतियत्नप्रकथनोपयोगेषु कृञः ॥ ३२ ॥
पदानि ॥ गन्धन-अवक्षेपण-सेवन-साहसिक्य-प्रतियत्न-प्रकथन-उपयोगेषु, कृञः,
(आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गन्धनादिव्यर्थेषु वर्त्तमानात् करोतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

32. After the verb कृि when meaning 'to divulge,' 'to revile,' 'to serve,' 'to use violence,' 'to cause change,' 'to recite,' and 'to do an act tending to effect a desired purpose,' the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb कृञ् by sūtra 72 would take the affixes of the Atmanepada when the direct fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This sūtra has been begun to show that this verb takes the Atmanepada terminations under certain circumstances even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The word gandhana comes from the root gāndh 'to injure,' of churādi class and means to inform against another maliciously with the object of injuring such person. Avakshepana means 'to revile,' 'to over-come,' sevana means 'to obey and serve,' sāhasikya means 'an act of violence,' pratiyatna means, 'imparting a new quality or virtue,' prakathana means 'to narrate fully,' upayoga means 'the disposal of a thing for the object of attaining merit &c.'

Thus उक्कुरुते. उदाकुरुते means he informs against; (2) श्वेनो वर्तिकाशुदाकुरुते 'the hawk overcomes or reviles a snail,' (3) गणिकानुपकुरुते 'he serves the prostitutes,' महामावानुपकुरुते 'he serves the mahamatra,' (4) परदारान् प्रकुरुते 'he outrages another's wife,' (5) एधोदकस्योपकुरुते 'the fuel gives a new quality (boils) to the water (or he prepares the wood and water for a sacrifice).' The object of the verb कृि takes the affix of the sixth case *i. e.* genitive, only when the verb means pratiyatna, see S. II. 3. 53 (कृञः प्रतियन्त्रे) । Therefore udakasya, though an object, has genitive form. The verb takes the augment सुद् only when it is preceded by upa and signifies pratiyatna, see VI. 1. 139. (उपात् प्रतियन्त्र वैकृत वाक्याध्याहारिषु) ॥ Therefore, there is the insertion of sibilant in upaskurute. (5) गाथाः प्रकुरुते 'he recites stories,' जनापवादान् प्रकुरुते 'he recites slander,' (6) शतं प्रकुरुते 'he devotes a hundred' pieces of money, for the sake of merit. सहस्रं प्रकुरुते 'he devotes a thousand.'

Why do we say in these senses? Witness कदं करोति 'he makes a mat.' In this case the ātmanepada affix is not employed.

The verb कृि is understood in the three succeeding sūtras.

अधेः प्रसहने ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधेः, प्रसहने, (कृञः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधि पूर्वात् करोतेः प्रसहने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

33. After the verb कृि preceded by adhi, when the sense is that of 'overcoming or defeat,' the Atmanepada is used, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sūtra is commenced to show that कृि may take the ātmanepada affix even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word prasahana means 'to overcome, to be not defeated.' As तमधिचक्रे 'he overcame him or he was not defeated by him.'

Why do we say, 'in the sense of to overcome?' Witness अर्यमधिकरोति 'he can' &' in which example the ātmanepada affix is not employed.

The necessity of making a separate sūtra of this rule, instead of including it in the last aphorism, arose with the object of giving a distinctive meaning to the prefix adhi.

वेः शब्दकर्मणः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, शब्द कर्मणः, (कृजः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि पूर्वात् करोतेरकर्मिप्राये क्रियाफले शब्दकर्मण आत्मानेपदं भवति ॥

34. After the verb *kri* preceded by *vi*, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, and when *śvaśas śṛṇ* is that of 'making sound,' (literally, having 'sound' for its object) the Atmanepada is employed.

The word *karma* in the sūtra indicates objective case or *kāraka*; and does not express 'action,' as in some previous sūtras such as 24 ante.

As *क्रोटा विकुरुते स्वरान्* 'the birds are making noise,' *ध्वांशो विकुरुते स्वरान्* ॥

The word *वि* governs the succeeding sūtra.

Why do we say "when governing a word expressive of sound in the objective case"? Witness *चित्तं विकरोति कामः* 'love affects the mind.'

अकर्मकाच्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात्, च, (कृजः आ० प० वेः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि पूर्वात् करोतेरकर्मकात्कर्मकक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

35. After the verb *kri* preceded by *vi*, when used intransitively, the Atmanepada is used.

As *विकुर्वन्ते सैन्यवा* 'the horses move gracefully,' *ओदनस्य पूर्णाश्छात्रा विकुर्वन्ते* 'the students being full of food are acting as they will or are aimlessly wandering about.'

संमाननोत्सञ्चनाचार्यकरणज्ञानभृतिविगणनव्ययेषु नियः ॥ ३६ ॥
पदानि ॥ संमानन-उत्सञ्जन-आचार्यकरण-ज्ञान-भृति-विगणन-व्ययेषु, नियः,
(आत्मनेपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिञ्. प्रापणे इत्येतस्माद्धातोर्कर्मिप्रायेक्रियाफलेरात्मनेपदं भवति, सम्माननादिषु विशेषणेषु सख्यु ॥

36. After the verb *nī* 'to lead,' when used in the sense of 'to guide so as to render the person guided worthy,' 'to lift up,' 'to make one a spiritual guide,' 'to determine the true sense,' 'to employ on wages,'

'to pay as debt,' and 'to give as in charity,' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the Atmanepada is used.

This sūtra is begun in order to show that the verb नी may take the terminations of the Atmanepada, even when the direct fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, in the following cases, *viz*, when it means to 'respect' &c.

Sammanana means to respect; as नयते चार्वा लोकायते 'the Chârvi gives instruction in the Lokâyata s'âstra.' The word chârvi primarily means intelligence, and by secondry use it has been extended to the preceptor also; such a preceptor gives instruction, in Lokâyata Sastra, that is to say, having established the truth of the doctrines of that philosophy by argumentation, imparts them to the pupils. Those doctrines being thus established by reason, become respected (Sanmânitâ) and honored.

Utsañjana, 'to throw up, or lift up,' as माणवकुमुदानयते 'he lifts up Manavaka.'

Achârya-karaṇa 'acting as a teacher,' that is to say, to bring a boy near oneself in such a way, that being so brought near (upa-neta), he may himself become an âchârya. As माणवकुमुपनयते 'he initiates Manavaka (i. e., making himself the preceptor he brings the boy near himself.)'

Jñāna means 'knowledge, a demonstrated verity.' As नयते चार्वा लोकायते 'the Chârvi investigates the truth of the Lokâyata doctrine.'

Bhṛti means 'wages.' As कर्मकारानुपनयते 'he employs the servants on hire or wages.'

Vigaṇana means the paying off as a tribute, debts &c. As मद्रा अक्षरं विनयन्ते, 'the Madras pay the tax due to the king, that is, they discharge the debt.'

Vyaya means 'allotment of money on works of merit &c.' As शतं विनयते 'he expends a hundred pieces on religious acts.' सहस्रं विनयते 'he devotes a thousand.'

Why do we say, in these senses? Witness अजां नयाति ग्रामम् 'he carries the goat to the village.' Here there is no Atmanepada affix, as the verb has not any one of the above significations.

कर्तृस्थे चाशरीरे कर्मणि ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृस्थे, च, अशरीरे, कर्मणि, (नियः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नयते कर्त्तादिक्त्वादिर्लकारवाच्यः कर्तृस्थे कर्मण्यशरीरे सति नयतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

37. After the verb नी, when it governs an incorporeal object existing in the agent, as its object, the Atmanepada is used.

The verb नी is Atmanepadi when governing an object which has no material body, but is an abstract noun, that is an object which has abstract but no concrete existence; and when such an object has its seat in a portion of the agent of the verb. As क्रोधं विनयते 'he subdues his own anger,' मन्त्रं विनयते 'he suppresses anger.'

The word s'arīra means the body of living beings, any portion of such body is also called s'arīra.

The object must reside in the agent, (kartṛistha), otherwise the verb will be parasmaipadi. As देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तस्य क्रोधं विनयति 'Devadatta removes Yajnadatta's anger.'

The object moreover must be immaterial, otherwise the affix will be of parasmaipada. As गङ्गं विनयति 'he removes his own wort.' घातं विनयति 'he bows his neck.'

Why do we say 'in the case of an object?' Witness बुद्ध्या विनयति 'he is submissive through knowledge,' प्रज्ञया विनयति. Here the verb विनयति has not taken an accusative case, but is in construction with an instrumental case, and therefore the present rule does not apply.

वृत्तिसर्गतायनेषु क्रमः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृत्ति-सर्ग-तायनेषु, क्रमः,
(आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु क्रमेर्धातोरारम्भेनैव भवति ॥

38. After the verb kram 'to move' when used, in the senses of 'continuity,' 'energy' and 'development,' the Atmanepada is employed.

The word 'kram' governs the succeeding sūtras up to 43 and is understood in them all.

The verb kram by sūtra I. 3. 78 (after the rest, let the parasmaipada affixes be employed in marking the agent), would have taken the affixes of the parasmaipada; the present aphorism enjoins Atmanepada affixes in certain cases when the verb means to have a taste for &c.

Vṛitti 'continuity' means unobstructed, or want of interruption (i. e., a taste for, or facility in, anything), sarga 'energy' means application, resolution and determination. Tāyana 'development' means increase and growth.

As (1) ऋक्षस्य क्रमते बुद्धिः—'his reason proceeds unobstructed through the Rig. scriptures i. e., he can easily comprehend the Rig.' (2). व्याकरणाध्ययनाय क्रमते 'the pupil shows energy or exerts to study the grammar.' (3). अस्मिन् शास्त्राणि क्रमन्ते 'the shastras are developed in him.'

Why in these senses only? Witness अपक्रामति 'he runs away.'

उपपराभ्याम् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप-पराभ्याम्, (वृत्तिसर्गतायनेषुकमः
आः प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपरापूर्वात् क्रमेत्पूर्व्याद्विषयेषु वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

39. After the verb kram, preceded by upa and para, when used in the senses of continuity, energy and development, the Atmanepada is employed.

The words vṛtti &c., of the last sūtra are understood here also. Why has this been made a separate sūtra and not included in the last ? The reason is to make a restrictive rule in the cases of upasargas ; that is to say, only in the cases of the upasargas upa and para, there is ātmanepada affix ; but not so when any other upasarga precedes the verb kram, though the sense may be of continuity &c. Thus उपक्रमते 'he commences to advance,' पराक्रमते 'he marches to attack.'

Why do we say after the upasargas 'upa and para'? Because, after any other preposition the affix will be of the parasmaipada ; as संक्रमति 'he makes progress.' If the sense is not that of "continuity" &c., parasmaipada will be employed, as उपक्रमति, पराक्रमति.

आङ्उद्गमने ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, उद्गमने (क्रमः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वात् क्रमेत् रुद्गमने वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ज्योतिरुद्गमने इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

40. After the verb kram, preceded by ān, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of the rising of a luminary.

As आक्रमते सूर्यः 'the sun rises.' आक्रमते चन्द्रमाः 'the moon rises,' आक्रमन्त ज्योतीषि 'the stars rise.'

Vart.—This ascending must refer to heavenly bodies. Therefore in आक्रमति धूमोहर्म्यतलात्, 'the smoke rises from the surface of the terrace,' the verb क्रम is parasmaipadi. Why do we say in the sense of "to ascend"? Witness आक्रमति माणवकः कुतपम् 'the boy assails the ox.'

वेः पद-विहरणे ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेः, पाद-विहरणे, (क्रमः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूर्वात् क्रमेत्-पादविहरणेष्वे वर्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

41. After the verb kram, preceded by vi, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of 'placing of foot-steps.'

As वाजी विक्रमते 'the horse is pacing.' The term vikramaṇa is applied to the special movements of horse &c.

Though in the Dhātupāṭha (catalogue of verbal roots), the verb कृमि and कृमु have the meanings of pāda-viharaṇa and pāda-vikshepa, that is "throwing or placing of foot," and so it might be objected that the present sūtra is a useless repetition, yet as verbs have various other meanings than what is assigned to them in the dhātupāṭha, the present sūtra is not unnecessary.

Why do we say "in the sense of throwing of foot"? In any other sense, the terminations will be those of the parasmaipada. As विक्रानति अजिनसन्धिः 'the fold of the antelope skin is ruptured.'

प्रोपाभ्यां समर्थाभ्याम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-उपाभ्याम्, समर्थाभ्याम्, (क्रमः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उप इत्येताभ्यां परस्मात् क्रमतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

42. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is employed when it is preceded by pra and upa, both conveying the same sense; viz. that of "beginning an action."

As प्रक्रमते भोक्तुम्, उपक्रमते भोक्तुम् 'he commences to eat' &c.

The prefixes pra and upa are synonyms, when they denote the commencement of an action

Why do we say, "when they are synonyms." Witness the following पूर्वेषुः प्रक्रामति अपरेषु उपक्रामति 'he goes during the first part of the day and he comes back during the latter part of the day.' Here in one case the sense is "to go," in another it means "to return."

Why in the latter case of 'aparedyur upakrāmati' there is not Atmanepada by virtue of sūtra 39 ante, as there is the upasarga upa here? The answer is that Rule 39 is not applicable, as that rule is limited by the condition of the sense of 'continuity' &c. while in the present sūtra, that limitation is not applicable.

अनुपसर्गाद्वा ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्-उपसर्गात्, वा (क्रमः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गं विद्युक्तात् क्रमतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

43. After the verb kram, the Atmanepada is optionally employed, when it is not preceded by any preposition.

The root 'kram' may always be conjugated as Atmanepadi when not having any upasarga. The upasarga will be defined in I. 4. 59. The option allowed by this sūtra is an example of what is technically known as aprāpta vibhāsā viz., an option which is not an alternative limitation to a general rule already found or known.

Examples: क्रमते or क्रमति 'he goes over.' Why do we say 'when it is without any preposition?' For no option is allowed when it takes preposition. As संक्रामति.

अपहृवे ज्ञः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि अपहृवेः, ज्ञः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरपहृवे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

44. After the verb jñā, when used in the sense of 'denying,' the Atmanepada is employed.

The root jñā which ordinarily means 'to know' and is parasmaipadi by rule 78, becomes Atmanepadi when through the virtue of any prefix it means 'to deceive:' as अपजानीते 'he deceives,' शतमपजानीते 'he denies the debt of a hundred rupees,' सहस्रमपजानीते 'denies a thousand.'

Why do we say when meaning "to deny?" Observe:— न त्वं किञ्चिदपि ज्ञानासि 'thou knowest not anything.'

अकर्मकाच्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकर्मकात्, च (ज्ञः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानातेरकर्मकाद कर्मकक्रियावचनादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

45. And when used intransitively, after the verb jñā, the Atmanepada is employed, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

As सर्पियो जानीते मधुने जानीते 'he engages in sacrifice by means of clarified butter or honey.' (See II. 3. 51).

This Atmanepadi form of jñā is employed when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. From sūtra 76 it will be seen that when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the verb is Atmanepadi.

How in the above example the verb jñā is intransitive? Because the word sarpiḥ is not the object of knowledge, but it is an instrument of sacrifice, into which one engages from complete knowledge (jñāna); and it (sarpishah) is in the genitive case by virtue of II. 3. 51 (ज्ञोऽविदर्धस्य करणे) by which the instrumental kāraka of the jñā is put in the genitive case.

Why do we say of "Intransitive"? Because in the transitive it is parasmaipadi, as स्वरेण पुत्रं जानाति 'he knows (recognizes) the son by his voice.'

संप्रतिभ्यामनाध्याने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्प्रतिभ्याम् अन्-आध्याने, (ज्ञः आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ संप्रतिइत्येवं पूर्वाज्जानातेरनाध्याने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

46. After the verb jñā, preceded by sam, and prati, the Atmanepada is employed, when not used in the sense of "remembering with regret."

The word *jña* is understood in this sūtra: and the aphorism applies to that *jña* which is used in the transitive. As *शतं संजानीते* 'he looks for a hundred,' So *सहस्रं प्रतिजानीते* 'he promises a thousand.'

Why do we say when 'not meaning remembering with regret?' Because it is not Atmanepadi, when it conveys that meaning. Thus *मातुः संजानाति* 'he remembers with regret his mother,' *पितुः संजानाति* ॥

भासनेपसंभाषाज्ञानयत्नविमत्युपमन्त्रणेषु वदः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥

भासन-उपसंभाषा-ज्ञान-यत्न-विमति-उपमन्त्रणेषु, वदः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भासनादिषु विशेषणेषु सत्सु वदतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

47. After the verb *vad*, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the senses of "showing brilliance, or proficiency in," "pacifying," "knowledge," "effort," "difference of opinion," and "flattering."

By sūtra 78, *vad* generally takes the terminations of the Parasmaipada. By the present sūtra, it takes also the affixes of the Atmanepada when having certain meanings.

Bhāsana, (shining) means to illumine as *वदते चार्वी लोकायते*. The *chārvi* illumines the Lokayat shastras, by his discourses and clear exposition.

Upasambhāshā (persuasions) means to appease, to conciliate, as *कर्म-कण्ठपुपवदते* 'he conciliates or cajoles the servants.'

* *Jñāna* (knowledge) means to know completely, as *वदते चार्वी लोकायते* 'the *chārvi* knows completely to discourse upon Lokayat shastra.'

Yatna (endeavour) means energy, as *क्षेत्रे वदते* 'He toils in the field,' *गृहे वदते* 'he toils in the house.'

Vimati (disagreement) means dissension, want of unanimitas opinion. As *क्षेत्रे विवदन्ते*, 'they disagree over the field,' i. e., holding different opinions they talk diversely.

Upamantrana (enticing) means to coax in secret, as, *कुलभार्यापुपवदते* 'he entices the wife of a respectable family (i. e., seduces her in secret),' *परदारपुपवदते* 'he flatters another's wife.'

Why in the above senses only? See *यत् किञ्चिद्वदति* 'he says something'.

व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणे ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यक्तवाचाम्, सम्-उच्चारणे, (वदः, आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणं सहोच्चारणं तत्रवर्त्तमानावदतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

48. After the verb *vad*, the Atmanepada is employed when used in the sense of "speaking articulately in a similar manner."

As संप्रवदन्ते ब्राह्मणाः 'the Brāhmaṇas are speaking.' But in संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटाः 'the cocks are crowing' it is properly Parasmaipadi.

The sense of the sūtra is that when men, who are only capable of articulate speech, speak all in one and the same time, then the verb vad takes the affix of the Atmanepada. When lower animals make a chorus of noise, the verb does not take the Atmanepada.

There must be samuchchāraṇa for the application of this rule; when there is no samuchchāraṇa or speaking in a chorus, this rule does not apply, as ब्राह्मणो वदति 'the Brāhmaṇa speaks.'

अनोरकर्मकात् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतोः, अकर्मकात्, (वदः, आ० प०) व्यक्तवाचां ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाद्दत्तेरकर्मकाद्व्यक्तवाग्विषयादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

49. After the verb vad, preceded by anu when it is intransitively used, the Atmanepada is employed, when the sense is that of "speaking articulately in a similar manner."

As अनुवदते कठः कथास्य kṛṣṇa is echoing or imitates kalāpa. He reutters exactly what the kalāpa-reader or the teacher says. The word anu here means similarly.

Why do we say 'in the Intransitive'? Because when it is used in the transitive it takes the affixes of the Parasmaipada. As पूर्वमेव यजुर्दत्तमनुवदति, 'he repeats the yajurveda which he had learned before.'

The words 'uttering of articulate speech' are understood here also. Otherwise अनुवदति वीणा 'the lute resounds,' here it is Parasmaipada.

विभाषा विप्रलपे ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, विप्रलपे, (वदः आ० प० व्यक्तवाचां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विप्रलपात्मके व्यक्तवाचां समुच्चारणे वर्तमानाद्दत्तेरात्मनेपदं भवति विभाषा ॥

50. After the verb vad, the Atmanepada is employed optionally, when the sense is that of "contradicting each other."

As विप्रवदन्ते or न्ति वैद्याः (the doctors are at variance). The words vyaktavāchām (articulate utterance) and samuchchāraṇa (speaking together) are understood in this sūtra also.

No option is allowed when the sense is not that of contradiction or wrangling as, संप्रवदन्ते ब्राह्मणाः, 'the Brāhmaṇas are speaking together.'

The phrase 'articulate utterance' is necessary in this also. Because as विप्रवदन्ति शकुनयः 'the kites are quarrelling,' the verb is in the Parasmaipada.

The wrangling must be by talking at one and the same time, otherwise this rule will not apply. As क्लेण वैद्या वैद्येन सह विप्रवदन्ति, 'the doctors contradict by turn another doctor.'

अवाद्ग्रः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवाद् , ग्रः , (आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ अवपूर्वाद् गिरतेरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

51. After the verb grî 'to swallow,' when preceded by ava, the Atmanepada is used.

As अवगिरति (he swallows). The root grî to swallow preceded by the preposition ava is Atmanepadi. The verb grî taken in this sūtra means to swallow and belongs to the Tudādi class. It is not the grî 'to make sound' which belongs to the kryādi class, because there is no word formed with the latter verb by affixing the preposition ava to it. By sūtra 78 this verb grî 'to swallow' would have been Parasmaipadi; the present sūtra debars that.

When it is not preceded by ava, it is Parasmaipadi, as गिरति 'he swallows.'

समः प्रतिज्ञाने ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः , प्रतिज्ञाने , (ग्रः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वाद् गिरतेः प्रतिज्ञाने वर्त्तमानाशात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

52. After the verb grî preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is used, when employed in the sense of 'promising.'

As सन्नं संगिरते, 'he promises to pay a hundred rupees.' If it does not mean to promise or acknowledge, it takes parasmaipada terminations. As संगिरति मासम्, 'he swallows the mouthful.'

उद्गच्छरः सदर्मकात् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्गच्छरः , चरः , सकर्मकात् ॥ (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पूर्वात् चरतेः सकर्मकक्रियावचनाशात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

53. After the verb char 'to walk' preceded by ut, when used transitively, the Atmanepada is employed.

As गृहमुच्चरते 'he strays away from home,' गुरुवचनमुच्चरते 'he transgresses the commands of his preceptor.'

Why do we say "when used in the transitive"? Observe वाष्पमुच्चरति 'the vapour is rising.' Here it is parasmaipadi.

समस्तृतीयायुक्तात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः , तृतीया- युक्तात् , (चरः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वाच्चरतेस्तृतीयायुक्ताशात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

54. After the verb *char*, preceded by *sam*, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed.

As अश्वेन संचरते 'he rides on the horse-back.'

The rule does not apply when it is not in composition with a word in the instrumental case. As उभौ लोकौ संचरसि इमं चातुं च देवल ! 'O Devala ! thou wanderest through both regions, this and that.' Here though the sense of the Instrumental case is implied, yet as it is not expressly stated, we use the *parasmaipada* terminations.

दाणश्च सा चेच्चतुर्थ्यर्थे ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाणः, च, सा, चेत्, चतुर्थी-अर्थे, (समस्त० यु० चरः आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ दाणशब्दे परस्मैपदी ततः संपूर्वाद् तृतीयायुक्तादात्मनेपदं भवति साचेत् तृतीया चतुर्थ्यर्थे भवति ।

वार्तिकम् ॥ अशिष्टव्यवहारे तृतीया चतुर्थ्यर्थे भवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

55. And after the verb *dâ* to give, preceded by *sam*, and connected with a noun in the Instrumental case, the Atmanepada is employed, provided this Instrumental case have the sense of the Dative case.

When is the 3rd case used with the force of the 4th case? That is answered by the following.

Vart:—The Instrumental has the force of the Dative when immoral conduct is implied. As दास्या or दृषत्या संप्रयच्छते 'he gives with the object of enticing to the female slave or prostitute.'

The verb *dâ* to give is generally *parasmaipadi*, it becomes *âtmanepadi* under the above conditions.

Why do we say "when it has the force of the dative case"? Because when it has not the sense of the dative, *parasmaipada* terminations will be used, as पाणिना संप्रयच्छति, 'he gives with his hand.'

It might be asked how the *âtmanepada* terminations are employed when the preposition *sam* is not directly applied to the verb, but another preposition *pra*, intervenes between *sam* and the verb. The reply is that the word *samāh* in sūtra 54 is not in the ablative case (which would have required its being placed immediately before the verb), but it is in the genitive case, and is used as an attribute.

उपाद्यमः स्वकरणे ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात्, यमः, स्वकरणे, (आ० प०)

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाद्यमः स्वकरणे वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

56. After the verb *yam*, to give, preceded by *upa*, when used in the sense of "espousing," the *Atmanepada* is employed.

This is clear. As भार्याद्रुपयच्छते 'he espouses or knows his wife.' But not so when another's wife is meant; there it is *parasmaipadi*.

By rule 78, the verb *yam* would have been *parasmaipadi*, but the present *sūtra* makes an exception, when the root takes the preposition *upa* and means "to marry, to espouse, or to accept." The meaning of *sva-karana* is confined to accepting in general. This is according to *Kasika*; according to *Mahābhāṣya*, *sva-karana* means to make one's own what was not previously his own.

Why do we say in the sense of "marrying"? When it has any other sense, *prasmaipada* affixes will be employed, as देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तस्य भार्याद्रुपयच्छति, 'Devadatta has illicit intercourse with the wife of Yajñadatta.'

ज्ञाश्रुस्मृदृशां सनः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ज्ञा-श्रु-स्मृ-दृशाम् , सनः ,
(आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञा श्रु स्मृ दृश् इत्येतेषां सन्नन्तानामात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

57. After the *Desideratives* formed by the affix *san*, of the verbs *jñā* to know, *s'ru* to hear, *smṛi* to remember, and *dris'* to see, the *Atmanepada* is employed.

The above four roots are *ātmanepadi* when in the *Desiderative* form, the suffix "san" being the *pratyaya* by which *desideratives* are formed.

The verb *jñā* takes the terminations of the *ātmanepada* when used in the senses indicated by the three *sūtras* 44, 45 and 46 already explained. The *desiderative* form of *jñā* would *ex necessitate* take *ātmanepada* affixes when used in the above senses: see Rule 62. The present *sūtra* however enlarges the scope of *ātmanepada*, by declaring all *desideratives* of *jñā* to be *ātmanepada*, in whatever sense they may be used.

Similarly by *sūtra* 29 ante and the *vārtika* under it, the roots *s'ru*, and *dris'* take the terminations of the *ātmanepada*; when preceded by *sam*, the *desideratives* of those would of course have taken *ātmanepada* affixes by 62, but the present *sūtra* makes it general.

The present *sūtra* however enunciates a new rule in the case of the root *smṛi*.

As धर्मे जिज्ञासते 'he wishes to know (i.e. enquires after) religion,' गुरुं शुश्रूषते 'he serves the teacher,' नष्टं सुस्मर्यते 'he wishes to remember the lost.' नृपं दिदृक्षते 'he wishes to see the king.'

Why do we say, when taking the affix *san*? Because the primitive verbs will take the *parasmaipada* terminations as जानाति 'he knows;' श्रृणोति 'he hears,' स्मरति 'he remembers' पश्यति 'he sees.'

नानोद्भूतः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ न , अनोः , ज्ञः , (सनः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाज्ञानातेः सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

58. After the desiderative of jñā when preceded by anu the Atmanepada is not employed.

This is an exception to the last sūtra. The desiderative of jñā with the prefix anu is not ātmanepadi.

This sūtra read with sūtra 45 limits the scope of parasmaipada to the transitive, desiderative verb anu-jñā. As पुत्रमनुजिज्ञासति 'he enquires after the son.'

Why do we say when preceded by anu? Because otherwise it will take the ātmanepada terminations. As धर्मम् जिज्ञासते 'he inquires after religion.'

प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुवः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-आङ्भ्याम् , श्रुवः , (सनः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रति आङ् इत्येवं पूर्वाच्छ्रुतेः सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं न भवति ॥

59. After the desideratives of s'ru when preceded by prati and ān the Atmanepada is not used.

The verb s'ru when taking the prefixes prati and ān, is not ātmanepadi, though taking the desiderative "san." This is also an exception to the rule of sūtra 57. Thus प्रतिश्रुयति and आश्रुयति ॥

The word prati and ān must be upasargas; if they are used as karma-pravachaniyas (see 1. 4.—83) then the rule will not apply, as देवदत्तं प्रतिश्रुयते ॥

शदेः शितः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ शदेः , शितः , (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शदिर्यः शिञ्जावीशितो वा सम्बन्धी तस्मादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

60. After the verb s'ad to decay, when it has one of the affixes with an indicatory s' (s'it) the Atmanepada is used.

The root 'sad' when taking any affix which is marked with an indicatory श, is conjugated in the ātmanepadi. In connection with this must be read sūtra VII. 3. 78. पाश्चात्त्याख्यानादाण्डशयस्तिशदसदापिबजिबुधमतिष्ठमनयच्छपरयच्छधै शीयसीदाः by which the root शद् is replaced by शीय before the affixes having an indicatory श. Thus शद् + श + ते = शीय + अते = शीयते 'he decays or withers,' शीयते 'they two decay,' शीर्यन्ते 'they decay.'

Why do we say before affixes having an indicatory श? Before other affixes it is not ātmanepadi. As अशस्त्यद् 'if he decayed,' शस्त्यति 'he will decay,' शिस्त्यति.

The well-known vikaranas like शप्, श &c., the affixes like शन् &c., are शित् affixes. In other words the root s'ad is ātmanepadi in all conjugational tenses.

म्रियतेर्लुङ्लिङ्गोदच ॥ ६१ ॥ म्रियते, लुङ्लिङ्गोः, च (शितः
आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ म्रियतेर्लुङ्लिङ्गोः शितश्चात्मनेपदं भवति अन्यत्र न भवति ॥

61. After the verb *mri* to die, when it has one of the affixes having an indicatory श, as well as when it takes the affixes *luṅ* (aorist III. 110) add *liṅ* (Benedictive III. 3. 159) the Atmanepada is used.

This is a restrictive sūtra, the root *mṛ* (to die), is marked with a ङ् as an indicatory letter; so by sūtra 12 it would be always Atmanepadi. But the present aphorism restricts it to लुङ् *luṅ* (Aorist) and लिङ् *liṅ* (Benedictive) tenses as well as to those tenses which are शित्. It will be found hereafter that out of the ten tenses, those that take शित् affixes are the special tenses, i.e., the Present, the Imperfect, the Potential and the Imperative.

It is only before these three affixes, namely, *liṅ*, *luṅ*, and *s'it* affixes, that the root *mri* takes the terminations of the atmanepada. Thus the aorist अमृत *amṛita* he died; Benedictive मृषीष्ट *mṛishīṣhta* 'may he die.' Similarly before *sit* affixes: thus म्रियते 'he dies,' = मृ + श + ते (VII. 4. 28 रिङ् शयग्लिङ् चु) म्रिय + अ + ते = म्रियते (VI. 4. 77. अचि इतुधातुभ्रंवां व्योरियङ् वडौ) म्रियेते, म्रियन्ते The root *mṛ* belongs to the sixth class of verbs called *Tudādi* which take the vikaraṇa श in the conjugational tenses (III. 1. 77).

In other tenses, viz., the two Futures, the Perfect and the conditional, this verb is parasmaipadi. As मरिष्यति he will die. अमरिष्यत्.

पूर्ववत्सनः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्ववत्, सनः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनः पूर्वं धो धातुः आत्मनेपदी तद्वत्सन्नन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

62. The verb which is Atmanepadi in its primitive form before the taking of the affix *san*, will also be Atmanepadi when it ends in the affix *san*. In other words; after a desiderative verb, Atmanepada is employed, if it would have been used after the primitive verb.

If the primary verb is parasmaipadi, its desiderative will be also parasmaipadi; if the primary verb is Atmanepadi, its desiderative will be Atmanepadi. This is the general rule. Some exceptions to it have already been mentioned in sūtras 57, 58, and 59. A root which was atmanepadi, before taking the Desiderative affix सन् *san*, will be atmanepadi even when it takes the affix सन् *san*. In other words, that by reason of which the atmanepada affixes were ordained in the primary verb, will cause the same terminations

to be applied when the verb ends in सन् san. Thus it was said in sūtra 12, that roots having an anudatta accented vowel as indicative or a ह् n as their indicative letter take the terminations of the ātmanepada. Thus आस्ते 'he sits down' and शेते 'he sleeps.' The verb आस् (to sit down) and शीङ् (to lie down) will remain ātmanepadi, even when they are used as Desideratives. Thus आसित्विषते 'he wishes to lie down.' Similarly sūtra 17 declared that the verb निविष् is ātmanepadi, as निविषते. This will be ātmanepadi also in the Desiderative form, as निविषित्वते 'he wishes to enter.' So also by sūtra 40, आक्रवते is ātmanepadi, the Desiderative आचिक्रवते will also be ātmanepadi.

But though by 60 and 61, शीयते and विषते are ātmanepadi, yet शिशित्वति 'he wishes to lie down,' मृमूर्षति 'he wishes to die,' are parasmaipadi. Because the ātmanepada affixes were ordained after the roots शद् and मृद् only under exceptional conditions and not generically, and as those conditions do not exist in the desiderative, the latter does not take ātmanepada terminations.

Of course that which in its primary state would not have taken the terminations of the ātmanepada, there being a prohibition to that effect, will not allow them in its Desiderative form. As अनुचिकीर्षति 'he wishes to imitate,' पराचिकीर्षति. Here the root कृष् by rule 79 has been especially declared to be parasmaipadi, to the exclusion of ātmanepada affixes which would otherwise have come by Rules 32 and 72, and therefore its Desiderative is also parasmaipadi. The force of च् causing ātmanepada is counteracted by 79.

Now it might be asked:—True, this rule provides for those cases where a root is conjugated in two forms, one a Primitive and another a Desiderative conjugation. But what provision do you make for those partial verbs which take the affix सन् even in their primitive form; and in whose case we have no prior form to look upon as a guide in the application of ātmanepada affixes. And there are at least 7 such quasi-roots which take सन् in this way, called also the self-descriptive सन्. Those quasi-roots are शृप्, तिष्ठ, क्ति, मान्, बध्, दात्, and शान्. What are we to do with these quasi-roots, which are always conjugated with the affix सन् and have no simpler conjugation? To this we reply; "In the case of these partial verbs which take the self-descriptive सन् the pada will be regulated by the indicative letters which these quasi-roots have. For though the full roots are जुगुप्स, तित्तिष्ठ, चिकित्स, नीमान्स, बीभत्स, शीशन्स and दीदान्स, yet by the maxim अवयवे कृतं लिङ्गं सप्तदायस्य विशेषकं भवति, "a sign made in a portion of a thing, qualifies the whole thing;" the sign made in the expression शृप् &c., will qualify the whole verb जुगुप्स &c." Thus we have जुगुप्सते he despises, चिकित्सते he cures; नीमान्सते he investigates, &c.

आम्प्रत्ययवत्कृञोऽनुप्रयोगस्य ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्प्रत्ययवत् ,
कृञः , अनुप्रयोगस्य (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आम्प्रत्ययस्येवधातोः कृञोऽनुप्रयोगस्यात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

63. Like the verb that takes the affix *ām*, if the verb be conjugated with the Atmanepada terminations, so of the verb *kri* when subjoined thereto as an auxiliary, the terminations are of the Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

This sūtra applies where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. There are in Sanskrit two forms of the perfect tense (लिट्) : one formed in the ordinary way by the reduplication of the root and adding the terminations ; the other called the periphrastic perfect, is formed by adding *आम्* to the root, and then affixing to it the perfect tense of the roots कृ (to do), भू (to be) or अस् (to be). These latter verbs are called *anuprayoga* or auxiliary verbs, as it is with their help that the perfect tense is formed. The question then arises, what conjugation, *parasmai* or *ātmanepada*, do these auxiliaries take in forming the periphrastic perfect ? This sūtra supplies the answer :—the auxiliary कृ follows the conjugation of principals, the other auxiliaries do not. Thus the root एव (to increase, prosper) is *ātmanepadi*, therefore in forming the periphrastic perfect, the verb कृ will be also in the *ātmanepada*. Thus एवाँचक्रे (he prospered). Similarly इद् (to appear with great splendour) is *parasmaipadi* and the auxiliary कृ after it will be *parasmaipada*, as इद्वाँचकार (he appeared with great splendour).

But the other auxiliaries भू and अस् retain their own peculiar conjugation and are not influenced by the conjugation of their principal. Thus एवाम्बभूव , एवामास.

The word *ām-pratyaya* of the sūtra means 'that after which the affix *ām* (III. I. 35 and 36. कास्प्रत्ययादामन्त्रे लिटि) comes.' Of the verb *kriñ*, when subjoined to another as an auxiliary, the termination is that of the *ātmanepada* like the verb that takes the affix *ām*. If this sūtra enjoined a rule of injunction (*vidhi*), then there would be the termination of the *ātmanepada* even in examples like इद्वाँचकार and इद्माम्वाँचकार where the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. This is no valid objection to the present sūtra. It is to be interpreted in both ways, that is, both as a *vidhi* (a general injunction) and a *niyama* (a restrictive injunction). How is that to be done ? Because the word *pūrvavat* of the last sūtra is to be read in the present aphorism also. The second explanation in that case will be for the sake of establishing a *niyama* or restrictive rule.

It has already been said above that the auxiliary verbs कृ, भू and अस् are used in forming the periphrastic perfect. This is done by force of the aphorism III. I. 40, कृञ्चातुप्रयुज्यते लिटि, meaning, the verb कृि is annexed in the perfect tense, to verbs, that take णि. In this sūtra (III. I. 40) the word कृि is a pratyāhāra, implying the verbs कृङ्, भू and अस्. It might be asked how is this pratyāhāra formed? The word कृि is taken from the fourth word of sūtra V. 4. 50, अभूतद्वावे कृभ्वस्तियोगे &c., and the letter णि is taken from sūtra V. 4. 58 कृञोद्वितीय &c. This is the way in which the commentators explain how not only the verb कृि is used as an auxiliary in forming the periphrastic perfect, but also the verbs भू and अस्. These three verbs denoting absolute action unmodified by any especial condition have in all languages been fixed upon as the best auxiliaries.

It must, however, be noted that the word कृि in this sūtra is not used as a pratyāhāra and consequently does not include the verbs भू and अस्.

प्रोपाभ्यां युजेरयज्ञपात्रेषु ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र- उपाभ्याम्, युजेः, अयज्ञ-पात्रेषु, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उप इत्येवंपूर्वाद् युजेरयज्ञपात्रप्रयोगविषयाशङ्कनेपदं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वराद्यन्तोपसृष्टादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

64. After the verb yuj to join, the Atmanepada is used, when it is preceded by pra and upa except with reference to sacrificial vessels even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The verb युजिर् 'to join' is svaritē, and consequently by sūtra 72 it is always ātmanepadi, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra declares when this verb may take the terminations of ātmanepada, even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. After the verb युज् preceded by the prepositions प्र and उप the terminations are of the ātmanepada, when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels. As प्रयुङ्क्ते 'he joins or employs'; उपयुङ्क्ते 'he fits or uses.'

Why do we say "when not employed in reference to sacrificial vessels?" Because there the terminations will be of the parasmaipada. As वृन्दं न्यञ्जि पात्राणि प्रयुनक्ति.

Vārtika :—It shall be rather stated that the root takes the terminations of the ātmanepada when preceded by any preposition beginning or ending with a vowel. This is an important modification of the above rule. Thus उपयुङ्क्ते and नियुङ्क्ते. In fact, all upasargas, with the exception of सम्, निर्, and इद्, either begin or end with a vowel, and therefore the Vārtika amounts to the inclusion of all prepositions with the above exception.

With सम्, निम् and दुम्, however, the root will take parasmaipada terminations; as संयुनक्ति.

समः क्षण्वः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समः, क्षण्वः, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षण्वे तेजने परस्मैपदी ततः संपूर्वादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

65. After the verb kshṇu, to sharpen, preceded by sam, the Atmanepada is employed.

The verb क्षण्वे 'to sharpen, whet, or grind,' is generally parasmaipadi, but it is Atmanepadi, when it is preceded by the prefix सम्; as संक्षण्वते शस्त्रम् 'he whets the weapon', संक्षण्वते 'they two whet', संक्षण्वते 'they all whet.'

It might be objected, why has a separate aphorism been made of the verb kshṇu, when it could well have been included in the sūtra 29 ante, which also speaks of the force of the prefix sam, when used with the verbs gam, richchha, &c. To this the answer is that, that sūtra treats of intransitive verbs, the word akarmaka being understood therein, while the present sūtra, as is evident from the example we have given above, treats of transitive verbs.

भुजोऽनवने ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुजः, अनवने, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भुजपालनाभ्यवहारयोरिति रुधादौ पठ्यते । तस्मादनवनेऽपालने वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

66. After the verb bhuj, the Atmanepada is used, except in the sense of protecting.

The root bhuj when it does not mean to protect, is Atmanepadi. This root belongs to the rudhadi class and has several meanings, as, to feed, to cherish, to preserve, to eat, and to enjoy. As भुंक्ते 'he eats or enjoys'; also bhuñjate, bhuñjāte &c. But पुत्रात् भुनक्ति पिता 'the father cherishes the sons', भुनक्त्येनमग्निराहितः.

The root bhuj belongs also to the tudādi class, but there it has the sense of being curved or crooked. The bhuj belonging to the tudādi class is not to be taken in this sūtra, because that bhuj has never the sense of protecting. Therefore त्रिभुजति पाणिम् 'he bends the hand,' is in the parasmaipada.

शेरणौ यत् कर्म णौ चेत् स कर्त्तानाध्याने ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेरः, अणौ, यत्, कर्म, णौ, चेत्, सः, कर्त्ता, अनाध्याने, (आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति, कथम् अणौ यत्कर्म णौ चेत् तदेवकर्म, स एव कर्त्ता भवति । अनाध्याने, आध्यानं वर्जयित्वा ॥

67. After a verb ending in the affix ni (causal) the Atmanepada is employed, provided that when the object in the non-ni or non-causal sense becomes the

agent in the causal; and when it does not mean 'to remember with regret;' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The causatives (णिच्) are conjugated in the ātmanepadi, when they are used in the passive voice, that is to say when a word which was an objective case in the ordinary verb becomes nominative case in the causative; and the nominative case of the ordinary verbs becomes objective case in the causative. In short when causatives are used in the passive voice, they are ātmanepadi. This round-about phraseology has been employed, because the base of the active and the passive causatives do not differ in form; as आरोहयते हस्तिपका हस्ती.

The phrase 'ये: (after the causatives)' of this sūtra governs the four succeeding sūtras and is understood in them. The sūtra consists of the following words:—ये: 'after the causative;' अणौ 'in the non-causative;' यन् 'what;,' कर्म 'object;,' णौ 'in the causative;,' चेत् 'if;,' स: 'that;,' कर्ता nominative;,' अनाध्यान 'except to remember.'

In general, by sūtra 74, the causative verbs take the terminations of the ātmanepada, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent. The present sūtra applies to the case where fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

After the verbs that take the affix णिच्, the terminations are those of the ātmanepada. How? When that which was the object when the primitive verb was used non-causatively, becomes also the object when the derivative verb is used causatively; and even that object becomes also the agent as well. There is exception, however, in the case when the verb means to 'remember with regret.' As आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपका: 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant.' Let us paraphrase this sentence by transforming the primitive non-causative verb आरोहन्ति into a causative form. The sentence then will be, आरोहयते हस्ती स्वयमेव 'the elephant makes itself to be mounted.' Similarly उपसिञ्चन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपका: 'the elephant-keepers sprinkle the elephant'; and उपसिञ्चयते हस्ती स्वयमेव 'the elephant makes itself to be sprinkled;,' पश्यन्ति भृत्या राजानम् 'the attendants see the king'; and दर्शयते राजा स्वयमेव 'the king makes himself to be seen.'

Why do we say 'after the causatives?' Because the rule of this sūtra will not apply, if the verb though conveying the sense of a causal verb, is, however, not formed by the affix णिच्; as आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपका: 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and आरोहयमाणो हस्ती साध्वारोहति 'the elephant that is being mounted, mounts gracefully'. Here the terminations are of the parasmaipada in the second case also.

Why do we say 'in the non-causative non-*ni*'? For this rule will not apply when the primitive verb itself is formed by the affix णिच्; such are the roots of the tenth class or *churādi* in which the *ni*ch is added in the self-descriptive sense, and not for a causative purpose. Thus the root गग belongs to *churādi* class; whose causative and primitive forms are the same. As गगयति गगं गोपालकः 'the cowherd counts the herd;' and the causative form is गगयति गगः स्वयमेव 'the herd makes itself to be counted.' The terminations in both cases are those of the *parasmaipada*.

Why do we say 'when the object (*karma*) becomes the agent?' Because the rule will not apply, when any other *kāraka* or case, than the *karma* or object, of the primitive verb becomes the agent in the causative. Thus लुनाति द्वाविग 'he cuts with the scythe,' लययति द्वावं स्वयमेव 'the scythe is made to cut of itself.' Here the word *dātra* was the instrument of the primitive verb which became agent in the causative, and therefore in the causative the terminations are of the *parasmaipada* only.

Why do we say 'if in the causative' in the *sūtra*? It is for the purpose of indicating that the verb must be one and the same, both in the primary sentence and the causative sentence. Therefore the rule does not apply here where the causative verb सेचयति in the second sentence was not used in the first sentence; आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and आरोहयमाणो हस्ती स्यलमारोहयति मनुष्यान् 'the elephant that is being caused to mount is made to sprinkle with urine the frightened men'.

The word तः 'that' is employed in the aphorism to show that the objects in both sentences must be the same and not different. Therefore in the following example where the objects are different, the terminations of *parasmaipada* are only used. आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and आरोहयमाणो हस्ती स्यलमारोहयति मनुष्यान् 'the elephant, that is being caused to mount, makes men mount on the land.'

Why do we use the word *kartā* (agent) in the *sūtra*? If the former object is not the agent in the second case, the terminations of the *parasmaipada* only would be used. As आरोहन्ति हस्तिनं हस्तिपकाः 'the elephant-keepers mount the elephant;' and तानारोहयति महामावः 'the elephant-driver makes it to mount.'

Why do we say 'except when meaning to remember with tenderness?' Observe, स्मरति वनगुल्मस्य कोकिलः 'the dove remembers, with regret, the forest tree;' and स्मरयत्येनं वनगुल्मः स्वयमेव 'the forest tree is made to be remembered of itself.'

भीस्म्योर्हेतुभये ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-स्म्योः, हेतु- भये, (ये ,
आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभेतेः स्मयते श्वण्यन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति हेतुभये ॥

68. After the causatives of the verbs bhî to fear, and smi to wonder, even the fruit of the action accrues not to the agent the Atmanepada is employed, when the fear is produced directly by the causative agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in णि' is understood in this sūtra and is to be supplied from the previous aphorism. This sūtra is also restricted to cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word हेतु in the aphorism has been defined later on in sūtra I. 4. 55 (स्वतन्त्र कर्त्ता); it is the agent which is the mover of another's agent. When a fear is caused by a हेतु it is called हेतुभय. The word भय 'fear' in the aphorism is illustrative, and includes by implication विस्मय 'astonishment' also. As जटिलो भीषयते 'the jatila, the cock-headed frightens.' मुण्डो भीषयते 'the munda, the shaven-headed frightens'; जटिलो विस्मापयते 'the jatila astonishes,' मुण्डो विस्मापयते 'the munda astonishes' i.e., the very fact of matted-hair or shaven-head frightens, &c.

Why do we say हेतुभय? For if the fear or astonishment is not the direct result caused by the agent, but arises from something else, then the Atmanepada will not be used. As कुञ्चिकेन भाषयति 'he frightens him with the kunchika,' रूपेण विस्मापयति 'he astonishes with his form'. Here kunchika and rupa are the instruments, which cause fear or astonishment, and are not the hetu thereof.

गृध्रि-वञ्च-च्योः प्रलम्भने ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गृध्रि-वञ्च-च्योः, प्रलम्भने,
(ये: आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृध्रु अभिकाङ्क्षायां वञ्चु गतावित्येतयोर्न्यन्तयोः प्रलम्भने वर्त्तमानयोरात्मनेपदं भवति ॥

69. After the causatives of the verbs grîdh to covet, and vañch to go, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causatives ending in णि' is to be supplied here from sūtra 67. This sūtra is also restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word प्रलम्भन of the sūtra means deceiving. As मानवकं गर्भयते 'he deceives the boy,' मानवकं वञ्चयते 'he cheats the boy.'

Why do we say 'when it means deceiving,' For these verbs have not this meaning, their causatives take parasmaipada. As श्वानं गर्भयति 'he causes the dog to bark,' अहिं वञ्चयति 'he avoids the serpent.'

लियः संमाननशालीनीकरणयोश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ लियः , संमानन-शालीनी-करणयोः , च , (योः प्रलम्भने आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लियो ण्यन्तात्संमानने शालीनीकरणे च वर्त्तमानादात्मनेपदं भवति च शब्दात् प्रलम्भने च ॥

70. After the causative of the verb *li* to melt or stick, the Atmanepada is employed, when used in the sense of showing respect, subduing and deceiving, even though the fruit of action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in लि' is to be supplied here from sūtra 67. This sūtra has its scope only when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. In the Dhātupāṭha, there are two roots ली, one is technically called लीङ् and means to stick, and belongs to divādi class. The other ली meaning to 'melt' belongs to kryādi class. As there is no specification in the sūtra what ली is to be taken, both are therefore taken.

The force of the word च in the sūtra is to include the word प्रलम्भन 'to delude' of the last sūtra into the present. The word संमानन means to show respect. The word शालीनीकरण means to subdue. As जटाभिरालापयते 'he gets respect or causes respect to be shown to him through or on account of his matted hair.' श्येनो वर्तिकामुल्लापयते 'the hawk subdues the partridge', कत्वा मुल्लापयते 'who deceives thee.'

The sūtra विभाषा लीयते: VI. 1. 51 declares that the ई of ली is optionally changed into आ before certain terminations. But there is no option allowed when the root ली has any of the above three senses : in these cases the substitution of आ is necessary and not optional. For the option allowed by sūtra VI. 1. 51 is a व्यवस्थितविभाषा and not a general विभाषा applicable everywhere.

Why do we say 'when it has the meaning of 'to show respect, &c.'? Because otherwise there is parasmaipada. As बालकमुल्लापयति.

मिथ्यापपदात्कृजोऽभ्यासे ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मिथ्या-उपपदात् , कृजः ; अभ्यासे , (योः आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ययन्तात् करोतेर्मिथ्योपपदादात्मनेपदं भवति अभ्यासे ॥

71. After the causative of the verb *kri*, the Atmanepada is used, when it has the word *mithya*, incorrect, as an upapada or dependent word, and is

employed in the sense of 'repeated wrong utterance' even when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent.

The phrase 'of the causative ending in *णि*' is to be supplied from sūtra 67. The aphorism is restricted to the cases where the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent. The word *abhyāsa* means doing again, or repetition; as *पदे मिथ्या कारयति* means 'he repeatedly pronounces the word incorrectly, that is with wrong accent, &c., not once but constantly'.

Why do we say 'when the word *mithyā* is used as an upapada?' The causative of *kṛi* will take *parasmaipada* when it has any other upapada. Thus *पदे सुष्ठु कारयति* 'he pronounces the word correctly.'

Why do we say 'of the verb *कृञ्*'? Because the causative of any other verb used along with the word *mithyā* will not have *ātmanepada*; as *पदे मिथ्या वाचयति* 'he repeatedly utters the word wrongly.' Here *वच्* takes *parasmaipada*.

Why do we say 'repeatedly'? For if the incorrect utterance is not habitual, then *parasmaipada* will be used; as *पदे मिथ्याकारयति* 'he pronounces wrongly, not always but once.'

स्वरितञितः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वरित-ञितः , कर्तृ-अभिप्राये , क्रिया-फले (ये: आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वरितेति येषां तेषां जितश्च तेभ्य आत्मनेपदं भवति कर्त्तारं चेत् क्रियाफलमभिप्रेति ।

72. After the verb marked with a svarita, (svaritet) or which has an indicatory ñ (ñit), the terminations of the *Atmanepada* are employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The *anuvṛitti* of the phrase *ये:* does not go further. The word *क्रियाफलं* is a compound, meaning 'fruit of the action.' When the principal object for the sake of which the action is begun, is meant for the agent indicated by the verb, there the *ātmanepada* is used after verbs having an indicatory *ञ* or a svarita accent. As *यजते* 'he sacrifices for himself'; *पचते* 'he cooks for himself.' Here the verb *यज्* and *पच्* are marked with svarita accent in the *Dhātupāṭha*, and therefore they take the *ātmanepada* terminations.

Similarly *सुडुते* 'he presses the soma-juice,' *कुरुते* 'he does.' Here the verbs *सुज्* and *कृञ्* have an indicatory *ञ*.

In all the above cases, the principal object of the action such as getting heaven by performance of sacrifices, eating of food, &c., is meant for the agent. That is to say, he sacrifices in order that he himself may attain heaven, he cooks in order that he himself may eat, &c.

Why do we say 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent'? Otherwise it will have parasmaipada. As यजन्ति याजकाः 'the priests sacrifice, (not for themselves, but for their clients)' पचन्ति पाचकाः 'the cooks cook (for their masters)'; कुर्वन्ति कर्मकराः 'the menials work (for their masters).' Here though the fees and the wages are the fruits which the agent gets, yet as that fruit is not the principal object for which the action was begun—the principal object of the sacrifice was not that the priest should get his fee, but that the sacrificer may go to heaven—the verb takes the terminations of the Parasmaipada. Here the principal fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, but to a third party.

अपादः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपाद्, वदः, (कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वाद्वदतेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

73. After the verb vad to tell, preceded by apa, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the terminations are of the Atmanepada.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent," is understood here. The sūtra is clear. As धनकामो न्यायमपवदते 'the wealth-seeker forsakes justice, that is to say, he wishes to acquire wealth at the sacrifice of justice. But when the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is employed. As अपवदति.

णिच्श्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ णिच्, च, (कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिजन्तादात्मनेपदं भवति कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले ॥

74. After a verb ending in affix ni (causal) when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent, the Atmanepada is employed.

The phrase "when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent" is to be supplied from sūtra 72. The verbs that take the affix णिच् nich are generally causatives. As कदं कारयते 'he causes the mat to be made for himself'; ओदनं पाचयते 'he causes the food to be cooked for himself. When the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the parasmaipada is used. As कदं कारयति परस्व 'he causes another's mat to be made.'

समुदाङ्भ्यो यमो अग्रन्थे ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्-उद्-आङ्भ्यः, यमः, अग्रन्थे (कर्त्रभिप्राये आ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् उद् आङ् इत्येवं पूर्वान्तेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति मन्थ-विषयश्चेत्ययोगो न भवति ॥

75. After the verb *yam* to strive, preceded by *sam*, *ut* and *ân*, when it does not refer to a book, the *Atmanepada* is employed, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent' is read into this aphorism by *anuvritti* from *sûtra* 72. As *ब्रोहीन् संयच्छते* 'he gathers rice'; *भारमुद्यच्छते* 'he lifts up the load'; *वस्त्रमायच्छते* 'he draws out the cloth.' The root *yam* preceded by the preposition *आङ्* takes the terminations of the *Atmanepada* by virtue of aphorism 28 ante; but in that aphorism the verb was intransitive, here it is transitive, and this explains the necessity of making two different *sûtras* for one compound verb *आयम्*.

Why do we say 'when it does not refer to a book.' For otherwise the verb will take the terminations of the *parasmaipada*. As *उद्यच्छति चिकित्सां वैद्यः* 'the physician diligently studies medicine.'

When however the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the above compound verbs are *parasmaipadi*. As *संयच्छति, उद्यच्छति, आयच्छति*.

अनुपसर्गाञ्ज्ञः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, ज्ञः (कर्त्रभिप्राये आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गाज्ज्ञानातेः कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले आत्मनेपदं भवति ॥

76. After the verb *jñâ* when not preceded by any *upasarga*, the terminations are of the *Atmanepada*, when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase 'when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent' is understood in this *sûtra* also. Thus *गां जानीते* 'he recognises the cow as his own'; *अश्वं जानीते* 'he recognises the horse as his own.'

Why do we say when not preceded by any *upasarga*? For when compounded with prepositions, it may take the *Atmanepada* terminations; as *स्वर्गं लोकं न प्रजानाति मूढः* 'the fool does not know the heavenly regions.'

When, however, the fruit of the action does not accrue to the agent, the simple root *ज्ञा* takes *parasmaipada* terminations. *देवदत्तस्य गां जानाति* 'he recognises *Dêvadatta's* cow.'

विभाषोपपदेन प्रतीयमाने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, उपपदेन, प्रतीयमाने (कर्त्रभि० आ० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समीपेभ्यमाण शब्दान्तरमुपपदं तेन प्रतीयमाने कर्त्रभिप्राये क्रियाफले विभाषाऽ-
त्मनेपदं भवति ॥

77. The Atmanepada is optionally used, when the fact of the fruit of the action accruing to the agent is indicated by an upapada, *i.e.* by a word used along with the verb.

By the preceding five sūtras 72 to 76, Atmanepada terminations were ordained to come after verbs which implied the accrual of the fruit of the action to the agent, that is to say, where the verb by itself denoted this. But when the same idea, instead of being inherent in the verb, is expressed by an upapada, that is by a word governed by the verb, the necessity of using the Atmanepada affixes, to denote the same idea, is obviously removed, and in such a case it is optional whether we use the Atmanepada or the Parasmaipada terminations. As *स्वं यज्ञं यजति* or *यजते* 'he sacrifices for his own yajña'; *स्वं कटं करोति* or *कुस्ते* 'he makes his own cot.'; *स्वं पुत्रमपवदति* or *अपवदते*; *स्वमोदनं पाचयते* or *पाचयति*, &c. So on with all the above five sūtras.

शेषात् कर्तरि परस्मैपदम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषात्, कर्तरि, परस्मैपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषात्कर्तरिपरस्मैपदं भवति शेषादेवनान्यस्मात् अनुदात्तङित आत्मनेपदयुक्तम् ॥

78. After the rest, *i.e.* after all those verbs not falling under any one of the previous provisions, the terminations of the Parasmaipada are employed in marking the agent (*i.e.* in the active voice).

The rules of Atmanepada have been declared in the preceding 66 sūtras, 12 to 77. The terminations of the Parasmaipada, which are the general verbal terminations, will come everywhere else, that is to say, where its operation is not debarred by any one of the preceding aphorisms. The present sūtra declares this universal rule. The word *s'esha* or the rest, means that which is the residue after the application of all the previous restrictive rules. Thus it was declared by sūtra 12 ante that a root having an Anudatta vowel or a ङ as *it*, will take Atmanepada terminations. As *आस्ते शेते*. The converse of this will take parasmaipada terminations, namely all verbs which do not have an anudatta accent or a ङ as *it*. Thus *याति* 'he goes,' *धमति* 'it blows.' It has been declared by sūtra 17 that the root *विश* when preceded by *नि* takes Atmanepada terminations, as *निविशते*. When not preceded by *नि* but any other preposition, it will take the parasmaipada termination. As *आविशति*, *प्रविशति*.

Why do we say "when marking the agent"? For when used in the passive voice the root will take the Atmanepada termination. As *पच्यते* 'it is cooked,' *गम्यते* 'it is gone.'

Why is not parasmaipada used when the verb is employed reflexively ? As in the following example :—पच्यते ओदनः स्वयमेव 'the food cooks of itself.' Because in the present sūtra the word कर्तरि of sūtra 14 ante is to be read in by anuvritti, so that, in fact there are two कर्तरि in this aphorism which thus means "when the agent of the verb is an agent pure and simple then parasmaipada is employed." While when a verb is used reflexively (कर्मकर्तरि) the agent of the verb is also, in one aspect, the object of the verb ; and it is therefore, that in reflexive verbs the Atmanepada terminations are employed.

अनुपराभ्यांकृञः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-पराभ्याम् । कृञः ।
(परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपरा इत्येवं पूर्वात् करोतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

79. After the verb *kri* to make, preceded by *anu* and *para*, parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent, and when the sense is that of "divulging," &c.

By aphorism 32 ante, the root कृ took the terminations of the Atmanepada when the sense denoted was that of "divulging, reviling," &c., and it also took Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent by virtue of sūtra 72, because the root कृञ् has an indicatory झ. The present sūtra makes an exception to those rules, and ordains parasmaipada. Thus अनुकरोति 'he imitates,' पराकरोति 'he does well.'

अभिप्रत्ययिभ्यः क्षिपः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-प्रति-अतिभ्यः
क्षिपः ॥ (प० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिप्रति अतिइत्येवं पूर्वात् क्षिपः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

80. After the verb *kship*, to throw, coming after *abhi*, *prati* and *ati*, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The root क्षिप् to throw, is svariteta therefore by sūtra 72 ante, it would have taken Atmanepada termination, when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent ; this aphorism ordains prasmaipada instead. As अभिक्षिपति 'he throws on', प्रतिक्षिपति 'he turns away or rejects,' अतिक्षिपति 'he throws beyond.'

Why do we say 'when coming after *abhi*, *prati*, and *ati*' ? Because when compounded with any other preposition, it will not take parasmaipada, but will be governed by sūtra 72. As आक्षिपते 'he throws down.'

The second कर्तृ of sūtra 14 is also understood here, so that when the verb is used reflexively, the agent not being purely an agent, the present sūtra will not apply. As अभिक्षिप्यते स्वमेव 'it is thrown on of itself.'

प्राह्व ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राह्व । वहः (पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र पूर्वाद् वहतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

81. After the verb vah to bear, coming after pra, parasmaipada is used, even though the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root वह् to carry is svarit, and by sūtra 72 it would have taken the Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. But the present sūtra ordains parasmaipada instead. As प्रवहति 'it flows.'

Why do we say "when coming after pra"? Because after any other preposition it will not take parasmaipada, as आवहते 'he brings.'

परैर्मृषः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परैः । मृषः । (पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिपूर्वाद् मृष्यतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

82. After the verb mṛish to bear, preceded by pari, parasmaipada is used, even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The root मृष "to suffer" is svarit, and by sūtra 72 it would have taken Atmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This ordains parasmaipada instead. As परमृष्यति 'he endures or he becomes angry.' When not preceded by this preposition, it takes Atmanepada termination. As आमृष्यते.

According to some authors, the root वह् of the last aphorism is said to be understood in this, so that वह् preceded by परि will also take parasmaipada terminations; as परिवहति

व्याङ् परिभ्योरमः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वि-आङ्-परिभ्यः । रमः । (पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विआङ्परिभ्योर्देव पूर्वाद्रमतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

83. After the verb ram to sport, preceded by vi and ân, parasmaipada is used.

The verb रम् means 'to sport.' It is anudāttet and therefore by sūtra 12 it would have taken Atmanepada terminations; the present sūtra ordains parasmaipada instead, as विरमति 'he takes rest'; आरमति 'he delights in,' परिरमति 'he sports.'

With other prepositions than these, it will take atmanepada termination. / s अभिरमते

उपाच्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपात् । च । (रमः परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाद्भ्रमतेः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

84. And also after upa, the verb ram takes the affixes of the parasmaipada.

As देवदत्तमुदरमति 'he causes Devadatta to refrain.' The sense of the verb uparamati is causative here, as if it was उपरमयति. This is an example of a verb involving in it the force of the causative affix णिच्.

It might be asked why was not the preposition उप read along with the other preposition in the last aphorism, instead of making this a separate sūtra. The answer is that the necessity of making a separate sūtra with the preposition upa arose from the exigencies of sūtra making. It is desired, that the next sūtra 85 should apply only to the root upa-ram, and not to other compounds of ram; and this could only be done by making these two distinct sūtras.

विभाषाऽकर्मकात् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा । अकर्मकात् (रमः पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वाद्भ्रमतेः कर्मकादिभाषा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

85. After the verb ram preceded by upa, parasmaipada is optionally used, when employed intransitively.

The last aphorism ordained parasmaipada absolutely. This declares an option under certain circumstances. As यावज्जुक्तमुपरमति or उपरमते, he desisted from or was quiet while it was eaten.

बुधयुधनशजनेङ्प्रुद्रुस्रुभ्योः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बुध-युध-नश-जन-पङ्-प्रु-द्रु-स्रु-भ्यः । योः । (प० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बुधयुधनशजन एङ् प्रु द्रु स्रु इत्येतेभ्योऽप्यन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

86. After the verbs budh to know, yudh to fight, nas' to destroy, jana to be born, in to go, pru to move, dru to run, and sru to flow, ending in the affix ni (i.e., when used in the causative), parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

By sūtra 74 ante, causatives took the ātmanepada termination when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This makes an exception to that and ordains parasmaipada. As बोधयति he expands; बोधयति he causes to fight; नाशयति he causes destruction, जनयति he begets; अध्यापयति he teaches; प्रापयति he causes to obtain; द्रावयति he causes to melt; भ्रावयति he causes to trickle.

Of the above eight roots, those which are intransitive would have taken the parasmaipada terminations under the conditions mentioned in sūtra 88 sub, that is to say, when the agent is a being endowed with reason. The present aphorism in the case of such intransitive verbs makes this additional statement, that those intransitive verbs will take parasmaipada, even when the agent is not a being endowed with reason. As बोधयति पद्मम् he makes the lotus to expand, योधयति काष्ठानि he makes the woods to strike each other, नाशयति दुःखम् he destroys sorrow, जनयति सुखम् he produces pleasure.

Again of the above eight roots, those that have ordinarily the sense of "moving" will get parasmaipada by sūtra 87. The present sūtra, in their case makes this additional statement, that they will take parasmaipada terminations even when the sense is not that of moving. Thus गृ means both 'to move' and 'to obtain,' द्रु means 'to run' as well as 'to melt,' and हृ means 'to flow' as well as 'to trickle.' As प्रवते he obtains; अयोद्रवति the iron melts; कुण्डिका स्रवति the water-vessel drips. The examples in the first paragraph have therefore been thus translated.

The root इङ् is always compounded with अङि.

निगरणचलनार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निगरण-चलन-अर्थेभ्यः
च । (येः परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निगरणार्थेभ्यश्च चलनार्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्योऽयन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ अदेः प्रतिषेधोक्तव्यः ॥

87. And after the causatives of verbs which have the sense of the 'eating or swallowing' and 'shaking or moving' parasmaipada is employed, even when the fruit of the action goes to the agent.

The phrase 'when used in the causative (येः) of the last sūtra is to be read into this also. The parasmaipada is ordained as an exception to sūtra 74 by which ātmanepada was ordained when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. The word निगरणं means 'eating,' and चलनं means 'moving,' 'shaking.' As निगरयति he causes to swallow; आशयति he causes to eat; भोजयति he feasts; चलयति he moves; चोपयति, कम्पयति he shakens. This aphorism applies to transitive verbs, and to verbs whose agents in non-causative state are inanimate objects, i. e. not possessed with reason.

Vart :—The prohibition of the root अद् to eat, must be mentioned. The causative of अद् to eat, takes ātmanepada. Thus अस्ति देवदत्तः Devadatta eats; आदयेत् देवदत्तेन he is made to eat by Devadatta.

अणावकर्मकाश्चित्तवत् कर्तृकात् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अणौ । अकर्मकात् । चित्तवत् । कर्तृकात् (येः पर० प०) ॥

वृत्तिः । अण्यन्तो यो धातुरकर्मकश्चित्तवत्कर्तृकश्चतस्माद्व्ययन्तात् परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

88. The affixes of the parasmaipada are employed after the causal of that verb, which in its non-causal state was intransitive and had a being endowed with reason for its agent; even when the fruit of the action accrues to the agent.

The phrase *शेः* is understood here also. The Atmanepada was ordained by sūtra 74 when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent. This aphorism is an exception to that, and ordains parasmaipada. As *आस्ते देवदत्तः* Devadatta sits; *आसयति देवदत्तं* he makes Devadatta to sit; *शेते देवदत्तः* Devadatta sleeps; *शाययति देवदत्तं* he causes Devadatta to lie down.

Why do we say 'in its non-causal state'? For if the causative root is from another causative root, and not from a simple non-causative root, then the parasmaipada will not be employed. Thus 'if one person such as Devadatta, causes another person Yajñadatta, to cause a third person Ramadatta, to do an act denoted by an intransitive root, as 'mounting' for instance, though Ramadatta mounts for his own benefit, the verb to be used in such a case is *आरोहयते*, in the Atmanepada, from the root *आरुह्* to mount; and not *आरोहयति*.' (Iengar's Guide to Panini).

Why do we say 'which was intransitive'? This rule will not apply if the verb in its non-causative state was transitive. Thus from *कारि* the causative from *कृ*, if the person caused to do the act denoted by the verb does it for his own use, comes only *कारयते* though the person has a will; for the original root *कृ* though a non-causative root, is not an intransitive root.' (*Ibid*).

Why do we say 'having a being endowed with reason for its agent'? For if the agent is a non-sentient object, the verb will be Atmanepadi. Thus from *शोषि* the causative from *शुष्* 'to dry' if that which dries is a thing not possessed of a will as *व्रीहयः* 'paddy,' for instance, though the fruit of the action, *i. e.*, the drying, affects only the paddy itself, comes *शोषयते* in the Atmanepadi, though 'to dry' is an intransitive root; *e. g.*, *शोषयते व्रीहीनातपः* the sun-shine causes the paddy to dry.' (*Ibid*).

न पादम्याङ्यमाङ्यसपरिमुहुरुचिनृतिवदवसः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥
न । पा-दमि-आङ्यम-आङ्यस-परिमुह-रुचि-नृति-वद-वसः । (शेः । परस्मै-
पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादमि आङ्यम आङ्यस परिमुह रुचि नृति वदवसः इत्येतेभ्योययन्तेभ्यः परस्मैपदं
न भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ८९ ति उ धेद उपसंख्यानम् ॥

89. But the affixes of the parasmaipada are not used after the causals of the verbs *pâ* to drink, *dam* to tame, *âyam* to extend, *âyas* to exert oneself, *parimuh* to be bewildered, *ruch* to shine, *nṛit* to dance, *vad* to speak, and *vas* to dwell.

The last two aphorisms had ordained parasmaipada instead of Atmanepada, even when the fruit of the action accrued to the agent, thus debarring the latter's action which would otherwise have taken place by virtue of sūtra 74. This sūtra prohibits the last two sūtras, and re-instates Atmanepada of sūtra 74. Thus root *पा* to drink, has the sense of *nigaraṇa* or swallowing, the roots *दम* &c., have sentient beings as their agent; the root *नृत्* to dance has the sense of *चरन* or moving, but still these verbs have *ātmanepada* affixes, and do not take parasmaipada in the causative. As *पाययते* he causes to drink, *दमयते* he causes to be tame, *आयामयते* he lengthens, *आयासयते* he troubles, *परिमोहयते* he entices, *रोचयते* he makes agreeable, *नर्चयते* he causes to dance, *वाद्यते* he makes to speak, *वासयते* he causes to dwell.

Vart:—The root *प्रेत* should be enumerated along with *पा* &c. Thus *प्रापयते* *शिशुमेकं सनीची*. The doe suckles a young infant.

वाक्यषः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा । क्यषः । (परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यषन्ताद्वातोर्वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

90. The affixes of the parasmaipada are used optionally after the denominative verbs ending in the affix *kyash*.

The affix *क्यष* is ordained by sūtra III. 1. 12 *भृशदिभ्यो भूयश्च वेलोपश्च हलः* after the words *लोहित* &c. These roots take optionally parasmaipada. As *लोहितायति* or *ते* he reddens. *पटपटायति* or *ते* he makes *paṭ paṭ*.

द्युद्भ्योलुङि ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्युद्भ्यः । लुङि । (वा परस्मैपदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्युतादिभ्यो लुङि वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

91. After the verbs *dyut* to shine, &c. the terminations of the parasmaipada are optionally employed, when the affixes of *luṅ* (aorist) follow.

The *Dyutādi* verbs are 22 in number, to be found in *Dhātupāṭha* in the *Bhuadi* class. By the use of the word *द्युद्भ्यः* in the plural in the sūtra, the force is that of &c. These verbs are *anudatta* and so by sūtra 12 they would have been invariably *ātmanepadi*, this aphorism makes them optionally

so in the aorist. Thus अद्युतत् or अद्योतिष्ठ he shone. In other tenses than the aorist (लुङ्) these verbs are invariably Atmanepadi. As द्योतते he shines.

For a list of Dyutādi verbs see Dhatupāṭha.

वृद्धभ्यः स्यसनोः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धभ्यः । स्य-सनोः । (वा । परस्मैप०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृत्, वृध् शधु स्यन्दक्तपू । एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्यसनि च परतो वा परस्मैपदं भवति ॥

92. After the verbs vṛit to exist, &c., Parasmaipada is optionally employed when the affixes sya (Future and conditional) and san (Desiderative) follow.

The वृतादि verbs are five in number and are included in the वृतादि sub-class. They are वृत् to be, वृध् to grow, भृध् to fart or break wind; स्यन्दु to ooze, and कृपु to be able. As 1st Future वृत्स्यति or वृत्तिष्यते, it will be; conditional भवत्स्यत् or भवतिष्यत्; Desiderative विवृत्सति or विवृत्तिषते &c.

In other tenses than the above, they are always Atmanepadi. As वृत्ते it is.

लुटिचकृपः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुटि । च कृपः । (स्यसनो वा परस्मैप०)

वृत्तिः ॥ लुटि च स्यसनोश्च कृपे परस्मैपदं वा भवति ॥

93. After the verb klip to be fit, Parasmaipada is optionally employed, when lut. (1st Future) is affixed, as well as when sya and san are affixed.

The verb कृप् is one of the five verbs of the sub-class वृतादि of the last aphorism. Therefore it will take both parasmaipada and Atmanepada, when the affixes स्य or सन follow. The present sūtra makes the additional declaration in the case of 1st Future or लुट्. Thus in Luṭ we have—कल्प्सि or कल्प्सासे thou wilt be; in 1st Future we have:—कल्पिष्यते or कल्पस्यति he will be; in the Desiderative we have:—चिकल्पसति or चिकल्पिषते; in the conditional we have:—अकल्पस्यत् or अकल्पिष्यत्.

ओ३म्

॥ अथ प्रथमाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK I.

CHAPTER IV.

आकङ्कारादेका संज्ञा ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ कङ्काराद्, एका-संज्ञा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कङ्काराः कर्मधारय इति वक्ष्यति आ एतस्मात् सूत्रावधेर्देदित ऊर्ध्वमनुकृतिष्वप्यनः
तत्र एकासंज्ञाभवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥

1. From this sūtra up to the aphorism Kaṅkārah Karma-dhāraye (II. 2. 38) only one name of each thing named is to be understood.

What is that name then? That which comes last, where the claims are otherwise equal (I. 4. 2.) and that which were its claim disallowed, would have no other opportunity of conducing to any result, would be the recognised name. As a short vowel is called 'light' by I. 4. 10. and it is also called 'heavy' when it precedes a conjunct consonant (I. 4. 11.) Thus a short vowel has two names 'light' and 'heavy.' But it will not be called 'light' when it precedes a conjunct consonant, but will have only one name, i.e., 'heavy.' Thus in विद् to divide, छिद् to split, the इ is 'light' while the same letter is 'heavy' in विष्ठा teaching विष्ठा begging.

Thus in the root तङ् the ञ् is 'heavy' and therefore in forming its aorist we have the form अतङ्ङत्. Similarly अररङ्ङत्. The rule VII. 4. 93 not applying here as that rule is applicable to laghu vowels only.

विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ विप्रतिषेधे, परम्, कार्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ (दुर्लभवत्निरोधो विप्रतिषेधः) तस्मिन् विप्रतिषेधे परंकार्यम् भवति ॥

2. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then the last in the order herein given is to take effect.

The word विप्रतिषेध means 'opposition of rules of equal force.' When two topics having different objects in view find scope of action simultaneously in one particular case, that opposition of equal forces is called vipratishedha. A general rule (utsarga) and its exception (upavāda), or an invariable (nitya) and an optional (anitya) rule, or an antaranga and

a bahiranga rule, are not rules of equal force. There the stronger prevails against the weaker. As an example of rules of equal force, see VII. 3. 102. and VII. 3. 103. The first rule declares, 'when a case-affix beginning with a letter of yañi pratyâhâra follows, the long vowel is substituted for the final of an inflective base ending in a short अ.' As Vṛiksha + bhyâm = Vṛikshâbhyam. The next rule declares:—When a plural case-affix beginning with a letter or jhal pratyâhâra follows, ए is the substitute for the final short अ of an inflective base.' As Vṛiksha + su = Vṛiksheshu. But when the plural case-affix bhyaḥ follows, what rule are we to apply? For the letter bha belongs both to the pratyâhâras yañi and jhal. Are we to lengthen the short अ, or substitute ए? The present sūtra gives the reply, ए is to be substituted because VII. 3. 103 ordaining ए follows next to VII. 3. 102. Thus Vṛiksha + bhyaḥ = Vṛikshebhaḥ.

यूस्त्र्याख्यौ नदी ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई-ऊ, स्त्री-आख्यौ, नदी ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईकारान्तमूकारान्तं च स्त्र्याख्यं शब्दरूपं नदी संज्ञं भवति ॥

3. Word-forms ending in long ī and ū being names of females are called Nadi.

The word द्यु is compound of ई + ऊ. The word stryākhyā means that which by itself denotes the name of a female. These words must be always feminine, having no masculine of the same form, as the word grāmaṇi has. As the words कुमारी Kumārī a virgin, यवागू, yavāgū rice gruel. The declension of nouns of nadi class is somewhat peculiar which will be treated of later. As see Rule VII. 3. 112 आट् is the augment of the case-affixes having an indicative क when they come after a word ending with a Nadi.

Why do we say ending in ई and ऊ? Because feminine nouns not ending in these vowels will not be declined like Nadi words. Thus while the dative of कुमारी will be कुमार्यै, the dative of दुहितृ will be दुहित्रे.

Why do we say 'which are feminine'? Because if they are names of males, they will not be called Nadi. As ग्रामणी: leader of a village; सेनानी: leader of an army; खलपू: a sweeper; their dative being ग्रामण्ये, सेनान्ये, खलप्ये.

Why have we used the word ākhyā 'name' in the text? Because feminine gender must be denoted by the word itself and not by any other epithet used along with the word. Thus if the head-borough or the sweeper should be of the female sex, the Dative Singular would still be ग्रामण्ये स्त्रियै and खलप्ये स्त्रियै.

ने यडुवड्स्थानाव स्त्री ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, इयङ्-उयङ्-स्थानौ, अस्त्री, (यूनदी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयङ् उयङोः स्थानं जनयौस्तिथीयडुवड्स्थानौ तौ यूनदीसंज्ञौ न भवतः ॥

4. Feminine words ending in *i* and *û* which admit the substitute (इयङ्) *iyāṇ* and (उवङ्) *uvaṇ* (VI. 4. 77) are not called Nadi; except the word *strī*, (which is called nadi) notwithstanding its substituting *iyāṇ*.)

* The definition of Nadi given in the last sūtra was rather too wide, this limits the scope. Thus श्री, happiness, भ्रू, brow, admit the substitutes *iyāṇ* and *uvaṇ* respectively, and are not nadi. Their vocative singular is हे श्रीः, हे भ्रूः &c., while the vocative singular of *strī* is हे स्त्री.

वाङ्मनि ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आनि, (नेयङुवङ-यू-नदी) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इयङुवङ्स्यानी इ आनिपरतो वा नदीसंज्ञी न भवतः ॥

5. Feminine words ending in *i* and *û*, though admitting *iyāṇ* and *uvaṇ* substitutes, are optionally termed Nadi, when the affix *ām* (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word *strī*, which is always Nadi.

श्री+आम्=श्री इयङ्+आम्=श्रीयाम्; भ्रू+आम्=भ्रूयाम्; or श्री+आम्=श्रीवृद्ध+आम् (VII. 1. 54)=श्रीणां; भ्रू+आम्=भ्रूणां. But *strī* is always nadi. and we have श्रीणां *strīnām*.

To the absolute prohibition enjoined by the last sūtra, this allows an option in the case of Genitive Plural.

डिति ह्रस्वश्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ डिति (ङ्-इति) ह्रस्वः, च, (यु स्त्र्या-नदी-इयङुव-वा-अस्त्री) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डिति परतो ह्रस्वश्च ष्वोः सम्बन्धी यः स्यात्तयो इयङुवङ्स्यानी च पू वा नदीसंज्ञी भवतः ॥

6. When a case-affix having an indicatory *ñ* (*ñit*) follows, then feminine words ending in short *i* and *û* are optionally termed Nadi, as well as feminine nouns in long *i* and *û* which admit of *iyāṇ* and *uvaṇ*; but not so the word *strī*, which is always Nadi.

Feminine words in long *i* and *û* have been defined as nadi, words in short vowels can never be termed nadi, while even some words in long vowels have also been excluded from the scope of the definition if they take *iyāṇ* and *uvaṇ*. The present sūtra declares an option in the case of all the above words, when a case-affix having an indicatory *ñ* follows.

The case-affixes having an indicatory *ñ* are the Dative, Ablative. Genitive and Locative singulars. Thus we have:—

13. After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether verbal root or crude-form, that which begins therewith in the form in which it appears when the affix follows it, is called an Inflective base (aṅga).

The words of this sūtra require some explanation. Yasmāt after whatsoever ; pratyaya-vidhih compound of pratyaya meaning an affix and vidhih, a precept i.e. a rule enjoying an affix; tadādi, 1. S. that which begins therewith pratyaye 7. S.=in a pratyaya i.e. when a pratyaya follows (I. 1.) is called a base.

After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether it be a verbal root (Dhātu) or a nominal base (prātipadika), the word-form having that as its beginning, is called an aṅga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmāt is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as anga ; because the word tadādi follows it. This defines the word aṅga. The word 'base' is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus कृ+वा=कर्ता he will do हर्ता he will lose. करिष्यति, हरिष्यति. Here because the root कृ and ह gets the name अङ्ग they are gunated by (VII. 3. 84). Similarly because उपगु &c. get the name Anga, their vowel is vriddhi in औपगवः &c.

The words कृि हृि are anga with regard to the affix त् &c. उपगु+अङ्=औपगवः ; कपटवः. Here upagu and kapaṭu are aṅga with regard to an. Similarly कृ+एव+वः=करिष्य+वः=करिष्यावः. Here the whole word form Karishya is regarded as aṅga, and as such the short a is lengthened by VII. 3. 101 ; because though the affix vah is enjoined after the word कृि, the form which begins with कृि i.e. karishya will also be called aṅga when the affix is to be added. The word tadādi, therefore, has been used in the sūtra, to make the definition of Anga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate affixes like sya &c., or उच् before the final affixes. Thus कुण्ड+उच्+वः=कुण्डवः+वः=कुण्डानि (VII. 1. 72 and VI. 4. 8) kuṇḍa+num+i=kuṇḍan+i=kuṇḍāni, bowls. Here the whole form kuṇḍan is called anga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix i by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word pratyaya ? Without it the rule would have run thus :—' After whatever there is anything enjoined &c., is called Anga.' Then in खी+ह्यती=खयती. Here sandhi of vowels is enjoined between खी+ह=खै. If खी was here an Anga, then its last last vowel would have been replaced by ह्यत् (VI. 4. 77), the form being खियति.

Why have we used the word विधि ? Had we omitted it the rule would have run thus :—' After whatsoever there is an affix, whether root or prātipadika is Anga.' Thus in दधि अधुना, though the affix adhunā is placed after

the word dadhi, it is not enjoined by any rule; and the word दधि is not called anga. Had it been so called, then the द of dadhi should have been elided by rule VI. 4. 148.

The word pratyaya has been repeated twice in this sūtra in order to show that when an affix is elided, the term anga will not apply to what stood before it. Thus in the compound word स्त्रियै+अर्थ=स्त्रियर्थ for the sake of the woman. Here in forming the Tat purusha compound the dative case-affix after the word स्त्री has been elided, for as a general rule case-affixes are elided in forming compounds. If the word स्त्री after its affix had been elided, still retained its old designation of Anga, the स्त्री+अर्थ would have been स्त्रियर्थ, the augment iyañ being added by the rule already referred to above.

सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्-तिङ्-अन्तम्, पदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुवन्तं तिङन्तं च शब्दरूपं पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

14. That which ends in sup (case-affix) IV. 1. 2; or in tiñ III. 4. 78 (tense-affix), is called a pada or inflected word.

The sup or case-affixes are those by which nouns are declined; and tiñ are tense-affixes by which verbs are conjugated. They have already been given before. Thus ब्राह्मण+जम्=ब्राह्मणाः the Brâhmanas पचन्ति they cook.

It might be asked by a caviller why the word अन्त has been used in the aphorism, for by the rule of tadanta given in Sūtra I. 1. 72 a rule relating to sup will mean and include also that which ended with a sup-affix. To this we reply, that the very fact that the word anta is used in this sūtra, indicates by implication (jñāpaka) that the Tadanta rule of Sūtra 72 Chapter I does not apply to rules of sanjñā (definition) made with regard to affixes. Thus tarap and tamap affixes are called gha by Sūtra I. 1. 22. The tadanta-vidhi will not apply here; words ending with these affixes will not be called gha. Thus ब्राह्मणितरा will not be called gha, for had it been so called, the long ई will be shortened in गौरी ब्राह्मणितरा. In short, 'an affix when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term (sanjñā) does not denote a word-form ending with the affix.'

नः क्ये ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ नः, क्ये, (पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाम्नं शब्दरूपं क्ये परतः पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

15. The word-form ending in n, is called pada, when kya follows (*i.e.*), the affixes kyach, kyañ and kyash).

These are affixes by which denominative verbs are formed from nouns. See III. 1. 8, 11, and 13. A word ending in न is called pada, when these affixes follow. Thus राजन्+क्यच्=राजीय 3rd Per. s. राजीयति he behaves like

a king. So also राजन् + क्यच् = राजायते (VII. 4. 5.) चर्न् + क्यच् = चर्नायते or चर्नायति. The result of its being called pada is that the च् of राजन्, चर्न् &c., is elided by Sûtra VIII. 2. 7. (there is elision of च् final in a pada which is entitled to the designation of prâtipadika). Thus राजन् + क्यच् = राज + य = राजीय (VII. 4. 33).

These three affixes क्यच् &c., come after case-inflected words (i.e., words ending in sup), and though, before these affixes, the case terminations are elided, still by Sûtra I. 1. 62 such words would have retained the name of pada which they got by Rule 14 of this Chapter. The present sûtra however makes a restriction (niyama). It declares that only words ending in च् retain the name of pada; while all other case-inflected words before these affixes do not retain that designation. Thus the words वाच् speech, स्तुच् a ladle are not treated as pada and we have वाच्यते and स्तुच्यते. Had they been pada, the च् would have been changed into क् by VIII. 2. 30.

सिति च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स-इति, च, (पदम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ सिति प्रत्यये परतः पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

16. When an affix having an indicatory च् follows then that which precedes it is called pada.

The sûtra 18 of this chapter teaches that before certain affixes, the preceding word is called bha. This sûtra declares an exception to that by anticipation. Thus Rule IV. 2. 115 declares:—"Affixes टक् and ढक् come after the vriddha (I. 1. 74) word भवत्." Here the affix ढक् has an indicatory च्, therefore the word भवत्, standing before it, will be called pada. Thus भवत् + ढक् = भवदीयः VII. 1. 2, belonging to you. The result of being pada is that ते is changed into द (VIII. 2. 39). Similarly च् is चत् in सुत् (After the word ūrṇā there is yu: V. 2. 123). Thus ऊर्णाद्युः; so also पच् V. 1. 106, has च् as indicatory. Thus ऋत्विजः There is no guṇa because of its being pada.

स्वादिष्व सर्वनामस्थाने ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-आदिषु, असर्वनामस्थाने, (पदम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वादिषु प्रत्ययेषु परतः सर्वनामस्थानवर्जितेषु पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

17. When the affixes beginning with सु (IV. 1. 2) and ending in कप् (V. 4. 151) follow, not being Sarvanāmasthāna (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is called pada.

The affixes beginning with su and ending with kap are meant by the above sûtra. Thus the case-affix इयाच् (Ins Dual) is an affix included in the above. Thus राजन् + इयाच् = राजइयाच्, राजभिः, राजत्वं, राजता, राजतरः, राजतनः. The न is elided by being pada.

Why do we say 'when not a Sarvanāmsthāna'? Observe राजन् + औ = राजानी two kings. राजानः kings. The न is not elided.

यचि भम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ य्-अचि, भम्, (स्वादिष्वसो)

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारादावजादी च स्वादौ सर्वनामस्थानवर्जिते प्रत्यये परतः पूर्वं भसंभं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नभोऽङ्गिरोमनुषां वत्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृषणस्वश्वयोः ॥

18. And when an affix, with an initial y or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with su and ending in k, follows, not being Sarvanāmsthāna, then what precedes, is called Bha.

This debars the application of pada. Thus गर्ग + यञ् (IV. 1. 105) = गार्ग्यः a grandson of Garga. So also वात्स्या. The affix याँ begins with a ya and the word garga being treated as Bha its final ञ् is elided before the affix by VI. 4. 148.

So also दक्ष + हञ् = दाक्षिः (IV. 1. 95) grandson of Daksha दाक्षिः. Here the affix हञ् begins with a vowel the word standing before it being Bha, it causes elision of the final ञ् of Daksha.

The word यचि is in the 7th case meaning when य् or अच् follow; and by the last Vart of Sūtra I 1. 72, it means 'when an affix beginning with ya or aq follow.'

Vart.—The words नभस्, अङ्गिरस् and मनुस् should be treated as Bha when the affix वत् follows. Thus नभस्वत् like the sky. अङ्गिरस्वत् like the Angiras. मनुस्वत् like the man. By being Bha, the च् is not changed into र्, which it would have been, had it been a pada (VIII. 2. 66).

Vart.—The words वृषन् is treated as Bha in the vedas when the words वसु and अश्व follow. Thus वृषणवसुः; वृषणश्वस्य मेने Here had the word vri-shan been treated as pada, the न would not have been changed into ञ् (See Rule VIII. 4. 37); and this न would have been dropped before the affix vasu by VIII. 2. 7.

तसौ मत्वर्थे ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ त-सौ, मत्तु-अर्थे, (भम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तकारान्तं सकारान्तं शब्दकथं मत्वर्थे प्रत्यये परतो भसंभं भवति ॥

19. The word-form ending in t or in s is called Bha when an affix with the force of matup ('whose is it,' 'or in whom it is' V. 2. 94) follows.

The word Bha is understood in this sūtra. Thus is the word उदग्निस्त्वाम् having butter milk Nom. Sing. उदग्निस्त्वाम् घोषः the herdsman having butter milk, विद्युस्त्वाम् बलादकः the cloud full of thunder. So also वयस्वी famous;

यस्यस्वी full of milk. Thus उदश्वित् + वतुप् = उदश्वित्वत्, वशस् + विनि (V. 2. 121) = यशस्विन्. By making these Bha, the operation of pada rule is debarred in their case. That is to say the final त् of udaśvit &c., and the स् of yaśas &c., are not changed into द and र respectively, which had they been pada words would have been the case by the action of Sūtra VIII. 2. 39, and VIII. 2. 66. *viz.*, उदश्वित्वत् and यशस्विन् which are incorrect.

अयस्मयादीनि छन्दसि ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ अयस्मय-आदीनि, छन्दसि, (भम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ अयस्मयादीनि शब्दरूपाणि छन्दसि विषये साधूनि भवन्ति ॥

20. Words like ayasmaya &c., are valid forms in the chhandas (veda).

These words being taught here in the topic relating to pada and Bha, show that they have been properly forced in the chhandas by the application of the rules of Bha and pada. Thus अयस् + नव = अयस्मय made of iron. Here the word अयस् is treated as Bha and hence the स् is not changed into र. Thus अयस्मयं वर्त iron-made coat of mail. अयस्मयानि पात्राणि iron vessels. The present form of this word is अयोमयं. In some places both these pada and Bha apply simultaneously. Thus in the word अश्वत् formed by अश् + वत्, the स् is first changed into क् by treating the word rich as a pada. Then the word अक् is treated as bha, and therefore the क् is not changed into न् before वत्. For had it been pada, the form would have been अश्वत् Rīgvat. These irregularly formed words occur only in the chhandas or Vedic literature. Thus स जुष्टभास अश्वत्ता गणेन.

बहुषु बहुवचनम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुषु, बहु-वचनम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुषु बहुवचनम् भवति ॥

21. In expressing multitude, a Plural case affix is employed.

When it is intended to denote multitude those affixes should be employed after nouns and verbs, which denote plural number. Thus ब्राह्मणाः पठन्ति. The Brahmins read.

This rule applies to words which are capable of expressing numbers. Indeclinables (Avyaya) do not admit of numbers, and consequently they are always in singular number which is the general form.

द्वेकयो द्विवचनैकवचने ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि-एकयोः, द्विवचन-एकवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विवेकत्वयोरर्थयोर्द्विवचनैकवचने भवतः ॥

22. The dual and singular case-affixes are employed severally in the sense of duality and unity.

This is also clear. When duality is to be expressed, a dual case-affix should be employed, and in the case of unit, the singular case-affix. Thus ब्राह्मणौ पचतः the two Brahmins cook. ब्राह्मणः पचति the Brahmin cooks.

कारके ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ करके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कारक इत्यधिकारो वेदितव्यः, यदि त ऊर्ध्वं वचनमुक्तिरित्यामः कारक इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

23. The phrase 'kāraka' (meaning 'in the special relation to a word expressing an action') is to be understood in the following aphorisms.

Any thing that helps towards the accomplishment of an action is a kāraka. Thus in 'cooking,' the fire, the furnace, the vessel, the cook are all helpers in the accomplishment of the action. Thus 'Rama cooks food in a vessel, by the fire from the furnace for his master.' Here Rama is agent kāraka; 'food' is object kāraka; 'vessel' is a locative kāraka, fire is an instrumental kāraka, 'furnace' is the ablative kāraka and 'master' is the dative kāraka.

The word 'karaka' thus is synonymous with the word cause (hetu) and occasion (nimitta). All the various causes and the occasions that are required to complete an action will be kārakas. Out of the seven cases in which a Sanskrit noun is declined, six represent such relation with an action. The Genitive or the sixth case can never be directly related with an action, and thus can never stand in the relation of a kāraka to a verb.

धूवमपायेऽपादानम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ धूवम्, अपाये, अपादानम् (कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धूवं यदपाययुक्तं नपाये साध्ये यदवधिभूतं तत्कारकमपादानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ धूवमपायिरात्रमादायानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

24. A noun whose relation to an action is that of a fixed point from which departure takes place is called apādāna or Tablation.

This defines the Ablation or Apādāna kāraka. Thus ग्रामादागच्छति he comes from the village. पर्वतादवरोहति he descends from the mountain. स्वार्थाद्धीनः lost his object. रथात् पतितः fallen from the chariot. The Apādāna takes the 5th case-affix (II. 3 28) and the above examples show this. When therefore this relation is to be expressed, 'the fixed point (like grāma, purvata &c., in the above) which is the limit denoted by a word dependent on a verb, is called ablation.'

Vart.—The objects of verbs denoting 'aversion,' 'cessation' and 'negligence' are also called ablation. Thus :—अधर्माद्भुगच्छति he dislikes injustice; अधर्माद्विरजति he ceases from injustice. धर्मात्प्रणादति he neglects justice.

भीत्रार्थानां भयहेतुः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-त्रा-अर्थानाम्, भय-हेतुः, (करके अपादानम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभेत्त्यर्थानां प्रायश्चर्यार्थानां च धातूनां प्रयोगे भयहेतुर्वस्तुकारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

25. In the case of words implying 'fear' and 'protection from danger' that from which the danger or fear proceeds is called Apâdana kâraka.

The verbs signifying 'fear' or 'protection' govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case. Thus चौरभ्यो विभेति he is afraid of thieves, चौरभ्य उद्विजते he is agitated because of the thieves. चौरभ्य रक्षयति or रक्षति. He protects or saves from the thieves.

Why do we say 'the cause of fear (bhaya-hetu) is put in the ablative case'? Observe अरण्ये विभेति or त्रयते he fears or protects in the forest.

पराजे रसोदः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पराजेः, असोदः, (का० अपादानम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परापूर्वस्य जयतेः प्रयोगेऽसोदो योऽर्थः सोऽहुः नययते तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

26. In the case of the verb parâji, 'to be tired or weary of,' that which becomes unbearable, is called Apâdana kâraka.

When the verb जि to conquer, with the preposition parâ has the sense of 'becoming tired or unbearable' it governs the ablative case of the thing become unbearable. As अध्ययनात् पराजयते he finds study unbearable.

Why do we say 'that which becomes unbearable.' Observe यज्ञम् पराजयते he defeats the enemies.

वारणार्थानां मीप्सितः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वारण-अर्थानाम्, ईप्सितः (का० अपादानम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वारणार्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे व ईप्सितोऽर्थः तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ।

27. In the case of verbs having the sense of 'preventing,' the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off is called Ablation or Apâdana kâraka.

The obstruction to one's natural inclination is called vâraṇa or prevention. As वक्षेभ्या नां वारयति or निवर्तयति he wards off or withholds the cow from the barley.

Why do we say 'the object desired' is put in the ablative case? Observe गां वारयति क्षेत्रे he wards off the cow in the field.

अन्तर्द्धा येनादर्शनं निवृत्तिः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्द्धा, येन, अदर्शनम्, इच्छति, (का० अपादा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्द्धा निमित्तं येनादर्शनमात्मन इच्छति तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

28. When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called Apādāna kāraka.

Thus उपाध्यायादन्तर्धत्ते or निह्नीयते he conceals or hides from the teacher; so that the teacher may not find him out or see him.

Why do we say 'when concealment is indicated'? Observe चौरात् न दिदृक्षते he does not wish to see the thieves. Here the term chauran is in the accusative case.

Why has the word ichchhati been used in the text? The apādāna kāraka is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, yet he shows himself.

आख्यातोपयोगे ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ-ख्याता, उप-योगे, (का० अपादा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपयोगे वाक्ये य आख्याता तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

29. The noun denoting the teacher is called Apādāna or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching.

The word आख्याता means teacher, and उपयोग means acquiring knowledge in the regular way. Thus उपाध्यायापादधीते or आगमयति he learns from the preceptor.

Why do we say 'when meaning to learn'? Observe नटस्व श्रुणोति he hears the player.

जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ जनि-कर्तुः, प्रकृतिः, (का० अपादा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जन्यर्थस्य जन्मनः कर्ता जायमानः तस्यैवा प्रकृतिः कारणं हेतुः तत्कारकमपादानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

30. The prime cause of the agent of the verb jan to be born, is called Apādāna.

That which is the Agent (कर्ता) of the verb jan, is called जनिकर्ता. That which is the prime-cause (प्रकृति) of the agent (or product) of the

root jan is put in the ablative case. As *शृङ्गाच्छरो जायते*, the arrow is produced from horn. *गोनयाद् वृश्चिको जायते* the scorpion is produced from cowdung.

भुवः प्रभवः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, प्रभवः, (का० अपा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भुवः प्रभवो य स्तत्कारकपादानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

31. The source of the agent of the verb *bhu*, to become is called *Apâdâna*.

The phrase 'of the agent (*karuth*)' is understood here. The word *प्रभव* means the source or that from which anything arises. As *हिमवतो गंगा प्रभवति* the Ganges has its source in the Himalayas. *काश्मीरेभ्यो वितस्ता प्रभवति*. The Hydaspes has its source in Cashmere.

कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स संप्रदानम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणा, यम्, अभिप्रैति, सः, संप्रदानम्, (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणा, करणभूतेन कर्त्ता यमभिप्रैति तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रियाग्रहणं नपि कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कर्मणाः करणसंज्ञा वक्तव्या संप्रदानस्य च कर्मसंज्ञा ॥

32. The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of giving, is called *Sampradâna* or recipient.

Though the word *कर्मणा* in the *sûtra* is indefinitely used, meaning 'with the object' yet it is not every object of any verb. The object must be of the verb 'to give.'

As *उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति* he gives the cow to the teacher. *साधवकाय भिक्षां ददाति* he gives alms to the boy. Here the words 'cow' and 'alms' are the object of the verb 'give'; the persons connected with this object are the teacher and the boy respectively. These latter are in the Dative case and take the 4th case-affix.

Vart :—The person whom one wishes to connect with the action should also be called recipient. As *आडाय निगदते* he censures for the sake of *Śraddha*. *युद्धाय सज्जते* he prepares for battle. *पत्ये शेते* she sleeps for her husband.

Vart :—2. After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object (*karma*) gets the name of Instrument (*karana*) and the recipient (*Sampradâna*) is called object (*karma*).

Thus *पशुना रुद्रं यजते* or *पशुं रुद्राय दादति* he sacrifices with an animal to *Rudra*, which is equivalent to, 'he gives an animal to *Rudra*.'

रुच्यर्थानां प्रीयमाणः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुचि-अर्थानाम्, प्रीयमाणः, (का० संप्रदानम्)

वृत्तिः ॥ रुच्यर्थानां भातृनां प्रयोगे प्रीयमाणो योऽर्थः स्तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

33. In case of verbs having the signification of the root *ruch* 'to like,' the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied, is called *Sampradāna* or recipient.

The verbs having similar meaning (*artha*) as the word *ruchi* or 'liking' are *रुच्यर्थः*. A desire or longing caused by something else, is called *ruchi*. As *देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः* the sweet meat pleases Devadatta. *यज्जदत्ताय स्वदते उपूपः* Yajnadatta likes Apupa. Here *modaka* is the agent that draws out the longing which is latent in Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the person pleased'? Observe *देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदकः पथि*. Devadatta likes modak in the way. The word *pathi* being in the 7th case.

**स्त्राघन्हुड्स्थाशपां स्त्रीप्स्यमानः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्राघ-न्हुड्-
स्था-शपाम्, स्त्रीप्स्यमानः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्राघ न्हुड् स्था शप् इत्येतेषां स्त्रीप्स्यमानो योऽर्थः स्तत् कारकं संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

34. In the case of verbs *slāgh* to praise, *hnu* to take away *sthā* to stand, and *śap* to curse, the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by, these actions, is called *Sampradāna*.

The word *स्त्रीप्स्यमान* means whom it is desired to make known or inform. As *देवदत्ताय स्त्राघते* he praises Devadatta, i.e., while praising Devadatta, he wishes that he should know this praise. So also with other verbs. As *देवदत्ताय हुते* he hides from (wishing that Devadatta should know of it) Devadatta, *देवदत्ताय तिष्ठते* she offers herself to Devadatta (for sexual embrace, wishing that he should know of it). *देवदत्ताय शपते* he reviles Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the person whom it is intended to inform'? Observe *देवदत्ताय स्त्राघति पथि*. Here *pathi* is in the Locative case.

**धारे रुत्तमर्णः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ धारेः, उत्तम-ऋणः,
(का० संप्रदा०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ धारयतेः प्रयोगे उत्तमर्णो योऽर्थः स्तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

35. In the case of the verb *dhāri* 'to owe,' the creditor is called *Sampradāna*.

The word *उत्तमर्ण* is compounded of two words *उत्तम* best and *ऋण* debt meaning (whose debt is best) creditor, as opposed to *अधमर्ण* debtor. As *देवदत्ताय शतं धारयति* he owes hundred to Devadatta.

Why do we say 'the creditor is called Recipient'? Observe *देवदत्ताय शतं धारयति ग्रामे* he owes hundred to Devadatta in the village. Here village is in the Locative case.

स्पृहे रीग्सितः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पृहेः, ईग्सितः,
(का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृह ईप्सायां, चुरादावदन्तः पठयते, तस्य इग्सितो चोऽर्चस्तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

36. In the case of the verb *sprih* to desire, the thing desired is called *Sampradāna kāraka*.

The verb *स्पृह* to desire, belongs to the *churādi* class. The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case. As *पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति* he desires flowers, *फलेभ्यः स्पृहयति* he desires fruits.

Why do we say 'the thing desired.' Observe *पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति* he desires flowers in the forest. Here *वने* is in the Locative case.

क्रुधद्रुहेष्यां सूयार्थानां यं प्रतिकोपः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-द्रुह-
इष्या-असूय-अर्थानां, यं, प्रतिकोपः (का० संप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुधादर्थानां प्रयोगे यं प्रतिकोपस्तत्कारकं संप्रदानसंज्ञं भवति ॥

37. In the case of the verbs having the sense of *krudh* to be angry, *druh* to injure, *īrshyā* to envy, *asūyā* to detract, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *Sampradāna*.

Krudh means non-tolerance, *droha* means doing wrong or hurt, *īrshyā* jealousy; and *asūyā* means to find out the faults of another. The word *kopa* includes all the above four sorts of actions. As *देवदत्ताय क्रुध्यतिद्रुहसति-ईर्ष्यति* or *असूयति* he is angry upon, (i. e. with) or bears malice to, or is jealous of, or finds out the faults of *Devadatta*. Here *Devadatta* is in the Dative case.

Why do we say 'against whom the feeling of anger is directed.' Because if there be no feeling of anger, then these verbs will not govern the dative case, but the accusative. Thus *भार्याभीर्ष्यति* he is jealous of his wife, i. e., does not wish her to be seen by others. Here the word *bhāryā* is in the accusative case.

क्रुधद्रुहो रूपसृष्टयोः कर्म ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-द्रुहोः, उप-
सृष्टयोः, कर्म (का० यं प्रतिकोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुधद्रुहो रूपसृष्टयो रूपसर्गसंबन्धयो यं प्रतिकोपस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

38. But in the case of the verbs *krudh* and *druh*, when preceded by prepositions, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c., is directed is called *karma karaka* or object.

This aphorism is a proviso to the last, and enjoins accusative case, where by the last, there would have been dative. The word upasrishta means having upasarga or preposition. As देवदत्तमभिक्रुष्यति अभिदुह्यति. When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism. As देवदत्ताय क्रुष्यति.

राधीहयोर्यस्य विप्रश्नः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ राधि-ईदयोः, यस्य, विप्रश्नः, (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राधेरीतिङ्कारकं संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति कीदृशं यस्य विप्रश्नः, विविधः प्रश्नः, विप्रश्नः; च कस्य भवति यस्य युभायुधं पृच्छते ॥

39. In the case of the verbs rādh, to propitiate, and iksh to look to, the person about whose good or bad fortune questions are asked is called Sampradāna.

The word vipraśna means literally asking various questions; and denotes questioning about the good or bad luck of another. Thus देवदत्ताय राध्यति-ईदते गर्गः Garga is favorable to or looks to Devadatta, the sense is that being casually asked by Devadatta, he reflects upon the good or bad fortune of Devadatta.

Another explanation of this sūtra is, the agent that puts various questions is put in the dative case. As शिष्याय राध्नेति or ईदते वा युः meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil.

प्रत्याङ्मुखां श्रुवः पूर्वस्य कर्ता ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-आङ्मुख्याम्, श्रुवः, पूर्वस्य, कर्ता (का० संप्रदा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिआङ् इत्येवं पूर्वस्य श्रुणोतेः कारकं संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति कीदृशं पूर्वस्य कर्ता ॥

40. In the case of the verb Sru preceded by the prepositions prati and ān; and meaning 'to promise' the person to whom promise is made (lit: the person who was the agent of the former verb) is called Sampradāna.

The compound verb प्रतिश्रू and आश्रू means to promise. A promise is made on the motion or at the instance of another. The person so proposing who was the agent of the former action becomes the recipient of the promise in the latter case. As देवदत्ताय गं प्रतिश्रुणोति—आश्रुणोति he promises a cow to Devadatta.

अनुप्रतिगृह्यश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु-प्रति-गृह्यः, च, (का० संप्रदा० पूर्वस्य, कर्ता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वस्य प्रतिपूर्वस्य च गृह्णातेः कारकं पूर्वस्याः क्रियायाः कर्तृभूतं संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

41. In the case of the verb gri, preceded by anu and [prati, and meaning 'to encourage by repeating', the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is called Sampradâna.

The phrase pûrvasya kartâ of the last is to be read into this aphorism. As होत्रे जुहुवाति. They encourage the Hotri, i.e. the Hotri priest invokes first, the others then follow him in invocation and by so doing encourage him. The word अनुनरः and प्रतिनरः mean encouraging the invoker.

साधकतमंकरणम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ साधकतमम्, करणम् (कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियाप्रसिद्धौ यत् प्रकृतोपकारकं विवक्षितं तत्साधकतमं कारकं करणसंबन्धं भवति ॥

42. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or karana kâraka.

As दात्रेण जुनति he cuts with the sickle. परशुना विनक्ति he divides by the axe. The instrument कारक takes the third-case affix.

Why do we say 'especially'? Because in the case of the other kârakâs, the non-mention of the word 'especially' makes it possible for us to use those cases, in not their strict sense. Thus though the locative case should be used where strictly a thing is located in another, yet we may say गङ्गायां चोषः the herdsman in the Ganges, not strictly in, but on the banks of, the Ganges. कुपे गर्गकुलम् the family of frogs in the well, i.e. on the sides of the well.

दिवः कर्म च ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिवः, कर्म, च, (का साधकतमम् करणम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवः साधकतमं चकारकं तत्कर्मसंबन्धं भवति चकारात् करणसंबन्धं च ॥

43. That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb div to play, is called karma object, as well as-karana, Instrument.

The present sūtra ordains accusative case, where by the operation of the last aphorism there ought to have been Instrumental case. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that karana is also to be read into this. As अहम् दीव्यति or अहम् दीव्यति he plays the dice or with the dice.

परिक्रयणे संप्रदानमन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिक्रयणे, संप्रदानम्, अन्यतरस्याम् (का० साधकतमं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिक्रयणे साधकतमं कारकमन्यतरस्यां संप्रदानसंबन्धं भवति ॥

44. In the case of hiring on wages, that which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action of the verb *parikrī*, 'employing on stipulated wages,' is optionally called *Sampradāna* or recipient.

This ordains dative case, where there would otherwise have been Instrumental case. The word *परिक्रयणे* means to engage for a limited period on payment of wages, and not absolute purchase for all time. As *यताय परिक्रीतो ऽनुव्रूहि यतेन परिक्रीतो ऽनुव्रूहि*.

ADHIKARANA.

आधारोऽधिकरणम् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आधारः, अधिकरणम्,
(का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृकर्मणोः क्रियाअयभूतयोर्धारणं क्रियां प्रति य आधारेस्तत्कारकमधिकरणं संबन्धं भवति ॥

45. That which is related to the action as the site where the action is performed by reason of the agent or the object being in that place is called *Adhikarana* or the Location.

That in which the action is supported or located is called *ādhāra*. As *कटे आस्ते* he is seated on the mat. *कटे शेते* he is sleeping on the mat. *ह्याह्वयं पचति* *ha* cooks in the pot. The *Adhikarana* takes the 7th case-affix.

अधिशीङ्स्यासां कर्म ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-शीङ्-स्या-आसां कर्म, (का० आधारः)

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिपूर्वाणां शीङ् स्या आच् इत्येतेषां साधारोयस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंबन्धं भवति ॥

46. That which is the site of the verbs *śī* to lie down, *stha*, to stand, *ās* to sit, when preceded by the preposition *adhi*, is however called *karma kāraka* or object.

This ordains accusative case, where otherwise by the last *sūtra* there would have been the Locative case. As *ग्राममधिषेते* *अधितिष्ठति* or *अध्यास्ते* he lies down, occupies or lies in the village.

अभिनिविशश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-नि-विशः, च, (का० आधारः कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिनिपूर्वस्य विषयेराधारे यस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंबन्धं भवति ॥

47. That which is the site of the verb *abhinivī* to enter, is also called *karma-kāraka*.

As ग्राममभिविशते he resorts to the village. This is an optional rule, as the word "option" of sūtra 44 should be read into it. Thus we have the following forms also पापेऽभिविशः resorting to sin. कल्याणेऽभिविशः resorting to good. The rule here is that of vyavasthita vibhāsa.

उपावध्याङ् वसः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उप-अनु-अधि-आङ्-वसः,
(का० आधारः कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उप अनु अधि आङ् इत्येव पूर्वस्य वसतेराधारो यस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंबन्धं भवति ॥
पार्तिक्षिप् ॥ वसेरयस्यस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

48. That which is the site of the verb vas to dwell, when preceded by upa, anu, adhi, and āñ, is called karma-kāraka.

As ग्राममुपवसति सेना the army dwells in the village पर्यंतमुपवसति-अनुवसति-अधिपवसति or आधवसति.

Vart:—Prohibition must be stated when the verb वच् means "fasting," or does not denote lying in a locality. As ग्रामे उपवसति he fasts in the village. Here the verb upavasati governs the locative case and not the accusative.

KARMA.

कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तुः, ईप्सिततमम्, कर्म,
(का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तुः क्रियया यदाहुनिष्टतमं तत्कारकं कर्मसंबन्धं भवति ॥

49. That which it is intended should be most affected by the act of the agent is called the object or karma.

That which is especially desired by the agent to be accomplished by the action is called karma. As कटं करोति He makes the mat. ग्रामं गच्छति he goes to the village. Why do we say "desired by the agent"? Observe नापेयं रथं बध्नाति he ties the horse in the gram field. Here gram is no doubt most desired by the horse, but as the horse is not the agent of the verb, the word नाप takes the locative case. Why do we use the word "most"? Observe पयसीदनं भुङ्क्ते he eats the food along with the milk. Here milk is no doubt desired by the agent, but not being the principal object desired, takes the Instrumental case.

Though the word कर्म was understood in this sūtra by anuvritti from the last sūtra, the repetition of this word here is to indicate that the anuvritti of the word ādhāra does not extend to this sūtra, because as we do not take the anuvritti of the word karma into this sūtra, we do not take

the anuvritti of any word of the previous sūtra into this. Had we taken the anuvritti of the word karma from the last sūtra, then we could use the accusative case in those limited instances, where the word is capable of taking the Locative case also, but not in other cases. Thus while we could very well say *गृहं प्रविशति* he enters the house, we could not say *अन्नं पचति* he cooks the food, *सक्तुं पिबति* he drinks saktu. By repeating the word karma in this sūtra, such examples become valid everywhere. The karma-kāraka, takes the second case-affix.

तथा युक्तं चानीप्सितम् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ तथा, युक्तम्, च,
अनीप्सितम्, (का० कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन प्रकारेण कर्तुं रीप्सिततमं क्रियया युज्यते तेनैव चेत् प्रकारेण चदनीप्सितं युक्तं भवति तस्य कर्मसंज्ञा विधीयते ॥

50. If that which is not intended to be most affected by the act becomes however similarly connected with the action it also is called karma.

That which is not desired by the agent is anipsita or object of aversion. Thus *विषं भक्षयति* he eats poison, *चोरान् पश्यति*. He sees the thieves. *ग्रामम् गच्छन् वृक्षमूलां न्युपसर्पति* going to the village, he plucks the roots of the trees.

अकथितं च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अकथितम्, च, (का० कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकथितं च यत्कारकं तत्कर्मसंज्ञं भवति ॥

51. And that kāraka which is not spoken of as coming under any of the special relations of ablation &c., is also called karma.

There are some verbs in Sanskrit which take what is called an akathita object, in addition to their usual direct one. As its name indicates, it is that object which is not otherwise kathita or mentioned by way of any of the other case relations, such as *अपादान अधिकरण* &c. and is, therefore optional. If the noun capable of taking this akathita object be not intended for any other case, it is put in the Accusative case with such verbs; as, *चेदुं दोग्धि पयः* he milks the cow (her milk) *व्रजमवदधति गं* 'he confines the cow to the fold.' Here *चेदुं* and *व्रजं* are akathita or optional objects. If the speaker does not intend to have this object, the words will be put in their natural cases; as, *चेन्वाः* (ablative) *पयोदोग्धि*, *व्रजे* (locative) *अवदधति गं*.

The roots that are capable of governing two accusatives are mentioned in the following kārika:—*दुष्टाच् पच् दण्ड् दधि प्रच्छि चि ब्रू यासु जि मञ्च् भुवाच् ॥ कर्मयुक् स्यादकथितं तथा स्याग्नी इ कृष् वदाच् ॥*

In the case of the roots डृ 'to milk' वाच् 'to beg,' पच् 'to cook,' दच् 'to punish,' बच् 'to obstruct or confine' मच्छ 'to ask,' चि 'to collect' ब्रू 'to tell' वाच् 'instruct' जि 'to win' (as a prize of wager) चन्च् 'to churn' चूच् 'to steal,' and also in the case of नी, ह, कृच्, and वह all meaning 'to take or carry' and others having the same signification, that noun which, besides the direct object, is affected by the verb, is put in the Accusative case; as, गां दोग्धि पयः (S. K.) 'he milks the cow'; बलिं वाचते वसुधां. He begs the earth of Bali'; similarly तंडुलानोदनं पचति, गर्गाञ्च शतं दण्डयति, ब्रजनवयणद्वि गां, माणवकं पंथानं पूजयति, वृक्षमवचिनोति फलानि, माणवकं धर्मं ब्रूते-शास्तिवा, शतं जयति देववत्सं, सुधां क्षीरनिधिं जयनाति, देवदत्तं शतं जुषयति; ग्राममजां नयति-हरति-कर्षति-वहति वा are examples of the other roots in order. माणवकं धर्मं माय ते वक्ति वा, बलिवसुधां भिजते, तां सुधां संब्रूयस्वार्थे वरयानि विभावसे are instances of this kind of object, because माच् or वाच् and भिच् or वृ have the same meaning as ब्रू and वाच्, the roots given in the Kāsikā.

Obs.—The roots चि, जुच्, पच् चन्च्, दच्, जि, कृच् ह and ever वह् are of every rare occurrence as governing two accusatives, in the classical literature, though given in the above list.

The roots mentioned above and others having the same sense, take two objects. One of them is principal, and the other, secondary. In the case of the first twelve roots from डृ to जुच्, the nouns पयः, वसुधां, फलानि, सुधां, &c. are principal objects, and गां, बलिं, वृक्षं, क्षीरनिधिं &c. are secondary objects, for they can, according to the speaker's volition, be put in other cases. And in the case of the last four roots अजा, is the principal object and ग्रामं the secondary. Thus that which is necessarily put in the accusative case in order to complete the idea of the verb, is the principal object, and that which may be put in the Accusative case, depending upon the speaker's will, is called the secondary object.

गति बुद्धि प्रत्यवसानार्थशब्द कर्माकर्म काणा मणिकर्ता स शौ ॥

५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गति-बुद्धि-प्रत्यवसान-अर्थ-शब्दकर्मा-कर्मकाणाम्, अणिकर्ता, सः, शौ (कारके कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थानां बुद्ध्यर्थानां प्रत्यवसानार्थानां च धातूनां तथाशब्द कर्मकाणा नकर्मकाणां च अप्यन्तानां यः कर्ता स एवन्तानां कर्मसंघो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गत्यर्थेषु नी ऋतोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वहेर नियन्तु कर्तृकस्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आदि खादोः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भवेर हिंसार्थस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

52. Of the verbs having the sense of 'motion' 'knowledge or information' and 'eating,' and of verbs that have

some literary work for their object, and of intransitive verbs that which was the agent of the verb in its primitive (non-*ni* or non-causal state), is called the object (*karma*) in its causative state (when the verb takes the affix *ni*).

In the case of the roots that imply 'motion,' 'knowledge' or 'information' or some kind of 'eating,' and other roots having a similar sense; also of roots that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive roots, that which is the subject of the verb in its primitive sense is put in the Accusative case in the causal, the object remaining unchanged; e. g.

PRIMITIVE.

यन्मयः स्वर्गमगच्छत्
इवे वेदार्थमविदुः
देवा अमृतमात्मन्
विधिर्वेदमध्वैत
पृथ्वी वलिते आस्त

CAUSAL.

यन्मूस् स्वर्गमगमयत्
स्वान वेदार्थं नवेदयत्
देवान् मृतमाययत्
विधिं वेदमध्वपयत्
पृथ्वीं वलिते आचयत्

But in यन्मयति रामो गोविन्द (Rama makes Govind go) if some body else (विष्णु मित्र) prompts Rāma to do this, we shall have to say विष्णुमित्रो रामेण गोविन्दं यन्मयति 'Vishnu mitra prompts Rāma to cause Govind to go.' Here 'Rāma' is not put in the Accusative case, because it is the subject of the verb, not in its primitive, but causal, sense.

Patanjali, in his Mahābhāṣya, adds this explanation on the meaning of the word यन्मयकर्म in the sūtra गतिबुद्धि &c. यन्मयकर्म may be either यन्मो येषां क्रिया or यन्मो येषां कर्म.

When we take the former interpretation, the roots हृयति (हृ) कन्दति (क'द) and यन्मयति (denom. of यन्म) have to be excluded from the rule; as, हयति देवदत्तः हययति देवदत्तेन; कन्दति-यन्मयति-देवदत्तः; कन्दयति-यन्मयति-देवदत्तेन. And the roots लृ, आ with वि and लभ् with उप must be included in the rule; as, लृणोति विज्ञानाति-उपलभते-देवदत्तः अलृणयति-विज्ञापयति-उपलपयति-देवदत्तम्. When we adopt the second interpretation, the roots लृहृ, भाष् with आ and लप् with वि, must be included in the rule; लृहृयति-विलपयति-आभाषते-देवदत्तः, लृहृयति-विलपयति-आभाषयति-देवदत्तम्.

There are several exceptions and counter-exceptions to the preceding rule, which are important.

Vart:—The causals of नी 'to lead' and वह् 'to carry,' do not govern the Accusative, but the Instrumental; e. g. धृत्यो भारं नयति वहति वा A servant carries a load. धृत्येन भारं नाययति वाहयति वा (S. K.) (He) causes a servant to carry a load.

Vart.—But बह्, when it has for its subject in the causal a word signifying a 'driver,' obeys the general rule; as, वाहा रयं वहन्ति. Horses draw the chariot. वहति यवान् बलीवर्दाः.

Vart.—(b). The causals of the roots खाद् and खाद्, 'to eat,' govern the Instrumental case; e. g. बटुरन्नमसि खादति वा. The boy eats his food. बटुनाम्न-नाहयति खादयति वा. (He) causes the boy to eat his food.

Vart.—(c). अह्, when it has not the sense of हिंसा 'injury to a sentient thing,' governs the Instrumental; as, भवयति पिंडीं देवदत्तः, भवयति पिंडीं देवदत्तेन; but भवयति यवान् बलीवर्दाः, भवयति बली वर्दान् यवान्.

By 'intransitive' roots mentioned above is meant such roots as are not by their nature capable of governing an object other than that of 'time,' 'place' &c., and not those roots which, though transitive, may sometimes be used intransitively according to the speaker's volition, or when their meaning is, quite evident; as, किंकरः पचरः पचति. Here पचति, though transitive, is used without an object, because it can be easily understood; hence किंकरीष पचयति and not किंकरं; but नासनासयति देवदत्तं.

In forming the passive construction of causal verbs, the principal object in the causal, which is the subject (agent) of the verb in its primitive sense, is put in the Nominative case, and the other object remains unchanged; e. g.

PRIMITIVE.	CAUSAL ACTIVE.	CAUSAL PASSIVE.
राज्ञो ग्रामं गच्छति.	राज्ञं ग्रामं गमयति.	राज्ञो ग्रामं गच्छते.
Râma goes to a village.	(He) causes Râma to go to a village.	Rama is caused to go &c.
शूत्यः कटं करोति.	शूत्येन शूत्यं वा कटं कारयति. शूत्यः कटं कार्यते.	
The servant prepares a mat.	(He) causes the servant to prepare a mat.	The servant is made to prepare &c.
गोविंदो मासमास्यते.	गोविंदं मासमासयति.	गोविंदो मासमास्यते.
Govind sits for one month. (He makes Govind sit &c.)		Govind is made to sit &c.
(a). But in the case of roots that imply 'knowledge' 'eating,' and those that have a literary work for their object, the principal object is put in the Nominative case, and the secondary in the Accusative, or vice versa e. g. नाशवक्त्रं भर्तुं बोधयति 'he make Mananaka know his duty'; नाशवक्त्रो भर्तुं बोध्यते or नाशवक्त्रं भर्तुं बोध्यते 'M. is made known his duty' or duty is made known to M.; बटुनादनं भोजयति 'he makes the boy eat food: बटुरोदनं भोजयते or बटुनादनं भोजयते (S. K.)		

With regards to roots that govern two accusatives, the rules mentioned above hold good in their case also; i.e., those roots that imply motion &c., govern the Accusative of the subject of the primitive Case, and others, the Instrumental case, sometimes; as, वाननेन वलिं बहुधांवाहते; (ईश्वरे) वाननेन वलिं

यमुधां वाचयति ' (God) makes Vāmana ask Bali for Earth.' गोपेण नगरं हरति ; (स्वामी) गोपं गोपेन वाजां नगरं हारयति. ' (The master) makes the cowherd take the sheep to the town.'

हृ क्रोरन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृ-क्रोः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (का० अणि कर्त्ता स खौ कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतेः करोतिद्वयन्तयोः कर्त्ता स ययन्तयो रन्यतरस्यां कर्मसंबो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अभिवादि द्वयोरात्मनेपद उपसंख्यानम् ॥

53. The agent of the verb in its non-ni (primitive) form in the case of hri to lose and kri to make, is optionally called karma or object when these verbs take the affix.

ni (CAUSAL).

PRIMITIVE.

CAUSAL.

As हरति. भारं भाणवकः
The boy takes the load.

हारयति भारं भाणवकं or भाणवकेन.
He causes the servant to take the load.

करोतिकटं देवदत्तः
Devadatta makes the mat.

कारयति कटं देवदत्तं or देवदत्तेन.
He causes Devadatta to make the mat.

Vart.—The subject of the primitive verbs अभिवद् and दृग् when used in the Atmanepada, is either put in the Accusative or instrumental case in the causal; as,

PRIMITIVE,

CAUSAL.

अभिवदति गुरुर्देवदत्तः
Devadatta bows down to the Guru. He makes Devadatta bow down to the Guru.

अभिधादयते गुरुं or देवदत्तेन

पश्यन्ति भृत्या राजानम्.
The servants see the king.

दर्शयते भृत्यान् राजानं or दर्शयते भृत्यैः.
He makes the servants see the king

KARTRI.

स्वतन्त्रः कर्त्ता ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वतन्त्रः कर्त्ता । (का०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रिया प्रसिद्धौ स्वातन्त्र्येण विवक्ष्यते तत्कारकं कर्तृसंबं भवति ॥

54. Whatever the speaker chooses as the independent, principal and absolute source of action is called kartā or agent.

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as देवदत्तः पचति Devadatta cooks. स्यासी पचति the pot cooks.

तत् प्रयोजको हेतुश्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्, प्रयोजकः, हेतुः, च,
(का० स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वतन्त्रस्य प्रयोजको योऽर्थः तत्कारकं हेतुसंबन्धं भवति चकारात् कर्तृसंबन्धं च ॥

55. That which is the mover thereof, i. e., of the independent source of action, is called Hetu or cause, as well as kartā or agent.

Thus कारयति he causes to be made, हारयति he causes to be taken. When hetu is employed as agent the verb is put in the causative form (III. 1. 26).

The force of the word च is to give both names to the mover of an agent, viz., Hetu and kartā; otherwise by sūtra 1 of this Chapter only one name would have been given.

Nipāta.

THE PARTICLES.

* प्राप्तीश्वरान्निपाताः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राग्, रीश्वरात्, निपाताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिरीश्वर इति वक्ष्यति प्रागेतस्मादधेयोनित कर्तृमनुकनिष्पन्नः निपात संज्ञा स्ते चेदित्यथाः ॥

56. From this point forward upto the aphorism Adhīrīśvare (I. 4. 97), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of Nipāta or Particles.

The word प्राग् of this sūtra serves the same purpose as the word cha of the last; namely, it makes the words Gati, upasarga and karmapra-vachniya take two names, i. e., their one name as well as the name Nipāta. The letter र in प्राप्तीश्वरात् is to remove doubt, i. e., aphorism I. 4. 97 should be taken as limit and not sūtra III. 4. 13 which has the word iswari also.

चादयो ऽसत्त्वे ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ च-आदयः असत्त्वे, (निपाता) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चादयो निपातसंज्ञा भवन्ति न चेत्सत्त्वे वर्तन्ते ॥

57. The word cha 'and,' &c., are called Nipāta or Particles, when they do not signify substances.

The following are particles (nipāta) च 'and' वा 'or' ए 'an expletive' अह 'vocative particle' एव 'only' exactly. ' एवम् 'so thus,' नूनम् 'certainly,' यद्यत् 'continually,' युगपत् 'at once,' अथ 'repeatedly,' सूषत् कूपत् 'excellently,' डुब्धित् 'abundantly,' नेह चेत् 'if' चत् 'if,' [the न् is indicative], यत्र where,' तत्र 'there,' कश्चित् 'what if?,' नह 'no,' हन्त 'ah,' ! नाकिम् [नाकीम्] नकिम् 'do not,' आकीम् 'indeed !' नाह् 'do not,' नन् 'not,' यावत् 'as much as,' वावत् 'so much,' त्वे न्वे द्वे 'perhaps,' रे (disrespectful interjection) ओषद् ओषद्

स्वाहा (interj.) 'oblation to the gods,' स्वधा 'oblation to the manes,' forefathers
 वषट् 'oblation to the gods,' ओम् (mystical ejaculation typical of the three
 great deities of the Hindu mythology), इत् 'thouing,' तथादि 'thus,' introduc-
 ing an exposition, (खलु 'certainly,' कित 'indeed,' अद्य 'now' auspicious
 inceptive), उत्तु 'excellent,' एन (attached to the present tense gives it a past
 signification), अदह 'fie' अ इ उ ऋ लृ ए ऐ ओ औ. The vowels a, â, i, î, u, û,
 e, ai, o, au, when, as interjections, they indicate various emotions, differ
 from the ordinary vowels.

उष्, उक्त्, वेलायाच्, मात्रायाच्, यथा, यत्, तत्, किच्, पुता, वथा, (यथ्या), भिक्, वाथा,
 हेही, (हहे), पाट्, प्याट्, आहो, उताहो, हो, अहो, ने, (नौ), अयो, ननु, वन्वे, निव्या, अदि, हुहि
 हु, लु, इति, हव, वत्, वात्, वम, वत, [वच्, वयच्, यिकच्, दिकच्,] यनुक्त्, क्त्वाट्, (क्वत्),
 यंके, युक्त्, खच्, वनात्, यनुत्, नदिकच्, चत्त्वच्, अतच्, अडा, हडा, मोचेत्, नचेत्, नहि, जानु,
 कयच्, कुतः, कुत्र, अय, अयु, वा, हे, (है), आहोसिवत्, यच्, कच्, खच्, दिष्टया, पयु, वट्, सच्,,
 (अनुपच्), आनुपक्, अङ्ग, फट्, ताजक्, (भाजक्), अये, अरे, घाट्, (घाट्), कुच्, लुच्, उच्
 अच्, ईच्, एच्, यिच्, सिच्, वै .

To the list of indeclinables belong also what have, without the reality,
 the appearance of an upasarga (No.59), of a word with one of the termina-
 tions of case or persons and of the vowels. In the example अवदत्तच् avadat-
 tam 'given away,' the अव is not really an upasarga, for if it were, the word
 (by VII. 4. 47) would be अवत्तच् avattam. In the example ahanyuh अहंयुः
 'egotistic,' the ahañ is not identical with the aham 'I,' terminating in a
 case affix—because a pronoun, really regarded as being in the nominative
 case, could not be the first member, in such a compound. In the example
 अस्तिकशीरा astikshîrâ, a cow or the like 'in which there is milk,' the asti अस्ति
 must be regarded as differing from the word asti, 'is,' which ends with
 the affix of the third person singular, otherwise it could not have appeared
 as the first member in a compound.

प्रादयः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्र-आदयः, (निपाता असत्वे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादयो असत्वे निपातसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

58. The words pra &c, are called Nipâta when not
 signifying substances.

The following is the list of प्रादयः or 'prepositions': प्र, परा, अप, सच्, अतु,
 अय, निच्, इच्, वि, आह, नि, अहि, अपि, अति, सु, उत्, अभि, प्रति, परि, उप ॥

The making of this a distinct aphorism, when it could well have been
 included in the last, is for the sake of giving the Pra &c., words two names,
 namely, those of Nipâtas, as well as upasargas under certain circumstances,
 i. e., when they are in composition with verbs. Not so however the चा
 &c., words. They never get the designation of upasargas.

When these words signifying substances they are not Nipâtas. As परा
 जयति वेना the excellent army conquers. Here the word परा is not a Nipâta.

उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गाः, क्रिया-योगे (प्रादयः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादयः क्रिया योगे उपसर्गं संज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अचङ्छदस्य चोपसंख्यानं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अचङ्छदस्योप संख्यानम् ॥

59. The words pra &c., get the designation of upasarga or prepositions, when in composition with a verb.

As प्र + नयति = प्रणयति. Here the dental न is changed into cerebral च, because of the प्र getting the designation of upasarga (See sūtra VIII. 4. 14). Similarly परिणयति, प्रणायकः, परिणायकः.

Why do we say when in composition with a verb? When in composition with a noun they are not called upasargas. As प्रगता नायकोऽस्माद् देशात् = प्रनायकोदेशः a country destitute of a leader. Here न is not changed into च. Thus while प्रणायकः means 'a leader' the term प्रनायकः means destitute of a leader; though both have the same radical elements:—pra in one is an upasarga, in the other a Nipāta pure and simple.

Vart:—The word चरत् should be included in the list of upasargas. As चरत् + दत्तः = चरत्तः given by Marut. चरत् + दा + त्त = चरत् + द + त (VII. 4. 47.) Here Marut being treated as an upasarga, though it does not end with a vowel, the दा is replaced by त by rule VII. 4. 47 which declares त्त the substitute of दा which is called ghu when it is preceded by an upasarga that ends in a vowel, and is followed by an affix beginning with त्त which has an indicatory k.

It might be objected, that as चरत् does not end with a vowel, sūtra VII. 4. 47 does not apply. To this we say that otherwise the giving the designation of upasarga to चरत् is superfluous; and in order that this should not be so, the fact of its not ending with a vowel, is overlooked.

Vart:—The particle अत् should be included in the list of upasargas. Thus अत् + पा + अङ् = अट्टा (III. 3. 106). Here because अत् is treated as an upasarga, that sūtra III. 3. 106 is made applicable.

गतिश्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गतिः, च, (प्रादयः क्रियायोगे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिसंज्ञकाश्च प्रादयो भवन्ति क्रियायोगे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कारिका शब्दोप संख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुनश्चनयो छन्दसि गतिसंज्ञौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

60. The words pra &c., are called also Gati, when in composition with a verb.

As प्रकृत्य, Now the gerund of the simple root कृ would have been कृत्वा, but as it is compounded with a gati word (II. 2. 18) the ट्वा is replaced by स्वप् see II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37. प्र+कृ+स्वप्=प्रकृत्य (VI. 1. 71). Here pra being called gati we have compounding by rule II. 2. 18; and then we apply VII. 1. 37. Similarly प्रकृत्य. Here pra being a gati word retains its own accent by rule VI. 2. 49. 'a gati retains in a compound its own accent when it immediately precedes a second member that ends in kta, provided the latter denotes the object of the action which is expressed by the root to which kta is added.'

Similarly प्रकरोति, here pra being treated as gati gets annudātta accent by rule VIII. 2. 71,

The yoga-vibhāga or the separation of one aphorism into two, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms. The annuvṛitti of gati only runs through the latter sūtras and not of upasarga. So that while pra &c., have two names upasarga and gati; uri &c., have only one name, namely, gati.

Thus in, प्रणीतम् and अभिप्रेतम्, by treating the words प्र and अभि as upasargas we change the न and च into ञ and ष by rule VIII. 4. 14 and VIII. 3. 87; and again treating them as gati we regulate the accent.

Vart.—The words कारिका should be included in the list of Gati. As (1) कारिकाकृत्य (2) कारिकाकृतम् (3) यत्कारिका करोति. In the first by taking it as gati, we have samasa (II. 2. 18) and स्वप् (VII. 1. 37) The other two cases illustrate accent.

Vart:—The words पुनर् and चनश्च are treated as Gati in the Vedas. As पुनश्चकृतं वाचो देवम्. Here the word पुनर् being gati, causes चकृत to take annudātta accent (VIII. 1. 70) चनोदितः. Here also the accent is regulated by VIII. 2. 71.

ऊर्धादि च्विडाचश्च ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ करी-आदि च्वि-डाचः,
च, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्धादयः शब्दाः च्चवन्ता ङाजन्ताश्च क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

61. The words uri, assent, &c., and those that end with chvi (V. 4. 50), and those that end with dāch (V. 4. 57), (when in composition with the verb bhû, kri or as) are called Gati.

The affixes chvi and dāch are ordained when the verb in composition is either कृ, भू or अश्च (V. 4. 50 and 57) ūri &c., being read along with chvi and dāch, shows that the verb in composition with them must also be any one of the above three verbs, and none else; in order to entitle करी to the name of gati.

The words करी and उररी mean to assent and spread. As करीकृत्य (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) करीकृत्य (VI. 2. 49), चररीकरोति (VIII. 2. 71). So with the word उररी. The following is a list of these words:—

पापी.	धृषी.	भंयकला.	फली.
ताली.	यकला.	गुलुगुधा.	चिह्नी.
आताली.	संयकला.	सङ्गः	आह्नी.
वेताली.	ध्वंसकला.	कल.	

The words ending in chvi are also gati. As शुक्लीकृत्य having made white what was not white.

So also words ending in डाच् as पटपटाकृत्य having made the sound pat.

अनुकरणं चानिति परम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुकरणम्, च;
अनिति-परम्, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुकरणमनिति परम् क्रियायोगे गतिसंबन्धं भवति ॥

62. A word imitative of sounds is also called Gati, when it is not followed by the word iti.

The phrase अनितिपरम् is a Bahuvrihi compound; अद्-इति-परम् = 'that which has not the word इति after it'

As खाट्कृत्य having made the sound khât. खाट्कृत्य (VI. 2. 49), पत्खाट्-करोति (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say 'when it has not the word इति after it?' Observe खाट्कृत्य निरङ्गीकृत्य.

आदरानादरयोः सदसती ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदर-अनादरयोः,
सद्-असती, (क्रियायोगे गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदरा नादरयोः अनादरसदसती गतिसंबन्धौ भवतः ॥

63. The words sat and asat when in composition with a verb are called gati, when used in the sense of 'respect or love,' and 'disrespect or indifference.'

As सत्कृत्य having honored (II. 2. 18 and VII. 1. 37) असत्कृत्य, सत्कृत्य or असत्कृत्य (VI. 2. 49) यद् सद् करोति or यद् असद् करोति (VIII. 2. 71).

Why do we say when meaning 'respect or disrespect'? Observe
सत्कृत्वा कायं गतः .

भूषणेऽलम् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूषणे, अलम्, (क्रि० गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूषणे यो अलम् शब्दः स गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

64. The word alam when in composition with a verb is called gati, when used in the sense of 'ornament.'

The word अलम् is an indeclinable and has four meanings:—'prohibition, competent, enough and ornament.' The term अलम् is gati when it means ornament. As अलंकृत्य (II. 2. 18, VII. 1. 37); अलंकृतं (VI. 2. 49) पदलंकरोति (VIII. 2. 71) when it does not mean ornament we have अलं भुक्त्वा ब्रजति he goes having eaten enough.

अन्तरपरिग्रहे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर-अपरि-ग्रहे, (क्रि० गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तः शब्दोऽपरिग्रहे ऽर्जगतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तः शब्दस्या द्विविधिं यत्वेष्टूपसर्गसंज्ञावक्तव्या ॥

65. The word antar is called gati, when used in the sense of 'non-accepting,' in composition with a verb.

The word परिग्रह means 'taking' or 'accepting,' अपरिग्रह means therefore the opposite of this namely 'rejecting,' abandoning. As अन्तर्गत्य गृहं गतः he went away having abandoned home; अन्तर्गतमनृतम् falsehood being abandoned. यदन्तर्हन्ति.

Why do we say 'when meaning to abandon'? Observe अन्तर्गता
भुषिकां श्येने गतः the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse.

Vart.—The word अन्तर् is treated as an upsarga for the purpose of the application of the following rules; III. 3. 106 by which अङ् is added; rule III. 3. 92 by which क्रि is added; the rule VIII. 4. 14 by which ऋ is changed into ण. As अन्तर्द्वा, अन्तर्द्धिः and अन्तर्हयति.

कणोमनसी अद्वाप्रतीघाते ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कणे-मनसी, अद्वा-
प्रती-घाते, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कणेशब्दो मनसश्च अद्वा प्रतीघाते गतिसंज्ञो भवतः ॥

66. The words kane and manas are gati when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of reaction by satiation.'

The word **बद्धा-प्रसीधात** means 'satisfaction of desire.' As **कषेइत्य पयः पिबति** he drinks milk to his heart's content or till he is satisfied? So also **भनोइत्य पयः पिबति**. That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire (बद्धा) is satisfied by revulsion of feeling. When not having this sense we have **कषे** or **भनोइत्वागतः** he went away satisfied

पुरो ऽव्ययम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरः, अव्ययम्, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक्षिप्रत्ययान्तः पुरः शब्दोऽव्ययं गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

67. The word **purah** in front of, when indeclinable, and in composition with a verb, is called **gati**.

The pronoun **पूर्व** 'front' with the affix **अक्षि** forms **पुरस्**, and by I. 1. 38 it becomes an **Avyaya**. (See V. 3. 39 **pur** being substituted for **pūrva**). The object by making it **gati** is threefold (1) compounding by II. 2. 18 (2) accent by VI. 2. 49 (3) to change the **h** into **च्** by VIII. 3. 40. As **पुरस्कृत्य**, **पुरस्कृतश्च** and **यद् पुरस्करोति**, when not an indeclinable we have **पुरः**, **पुरो**, **पुरः कृत्वा** **काण्डगतः**.

अस्तं च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तम्, च, (गतिः अव्ययम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्तं शब्दो नकारान्तोऽव्ययः अनुपलब्धौ वर्तते च गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

68. And the indeclinable word **astam** 'at home,' is called **gati**, when in composition with a verb.

The word **अस्तम्** is an indeclinable as it ends in **च्** (I. 1. 39); and means 'not visible.' As **अस्तंगतय सविता पुनरुदेति** the sun having set, rises again **अस्तंगतानि धनानि** riches that have vanished. **यदस्तं गच्छति**, when not an indeclinable it is not **gati** as **अस्तं काण्डम्** the arrow has been thrown.

अच्छ गत्यर्थवदेषु ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अच्छ, गति-अर्थ-वदेषु, (गतिः अव्ययम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अच्छशब्दोऽव्ययमक्षिप्रत्ययान्तो वर्तते, च गत्यर्थेषु धातुषु वदते च गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

69. The indeclinable word **achchha**, meaning 'before in the presence of,' is called **gati**, when used in composition with verbs denoting 'motion' or with the verb 'vad' to speak.

The word **अच्छ** is an indeclinable and has the force of the word **अक्षि**. As **अच्छगतम्**, **अच्छगतश्च**, and **यदच्छगच्छति**. So also **अच्छोद** **अच्छोदितम्** and **यदच्छवदति** when not an **Avyaya**, we have **उदकतच्छं गच्छति**.

अदो ऽनुपदेशे ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदम्, अनुपदेशे, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदः शब्दो ऽनुपदेशे गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

70. The word adas 'that' is called gati when in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to another.

The word upadeśa means a direction to another. When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadeśa. That is when it is not a demonstrative pronoun. As अदः कृत्य, अदः कृत्य and यददः करोति when used as a demonstrative pronoun we have अदः कृत्वा कायं गतः

तिरोऽन्तरद्वै ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिरः, अन्तरद्वै, (गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तरद्वैर्ध्यानम्, तत्रतिरः शब्दो गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

71. The word tiras when used in the sense of 'disappearance,' is called gati when in composition with a verb.

As तिरोभूय, तिरोभूतम् and यह तिरोभवति why do we say when meaning disappearance? Observe तिरो भूत्वास्थितः i.e., standing apart.

विभाषाकृजि ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृजि, (गतिः अन्तरद्वै) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिरः शब्दः करोती परतो विभाषा गतिसंज्ञो भवति ॥

72. The word tiras meaning 'disappearance' is optionally called gati, when the verb kri follows.

This is an example of प्राप्त-विभाषा. As तिरः कृत्य or तिरस्कृत्य (VIII. 3. 42): तिरः कृत्वा or तिरस्कृत्वा (VIII. 3. 42). The change of visarga into च is optional VIII. 3. 42. When not meaning disappearance we have तिरः कृत्वा काष्ठं तिष्ठति he stands having laid aside the stick.

उपाजेऽन्वाजे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपाजे-अन्वाजे, (विभाषा कृजि गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपाजेऽन्वाजेशब्दौ विभक्ति प्रत्ययपक्षौ निपातौ दुर्बलस्य सामर्थ्याधाने वर्तते तौ कृजि विभाषा गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

73. The words upāje and anvāje both meaning 'supporting or assisting the weak,' are optionally called gati when used along with the verb kri.

As उपाजे कृत्य or उपाजे कृत्वा having given support. अन्वाजे कृत्य or अन्वाजे कृत्वा.

साक्षात्प्रभृतीनिच ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ साक्षात्, प्रभृतीनि, च, (गतिः विभाषा कृजि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साक्षात्प्रभृतीनि शब्दरूपाणि कृजि विभाषा गतिसंज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साक्षात्प्रभृतिषु च्छब्दार्थं वचनम् ॥

74. The words *sākshāt*, 'in the presence of' &c., are optionally called *gati*, when used along with the verb *kri*.

Vart :—In the words *साक्षात्* &c. the force of the affix *चि* is understood, namely making a thing what it was not before, As *साक्षात् कृत्य* or *कृत्वा निश्चयाकृत्ये निश्चयाकृत्वा* making evident what was concealed before.

अनत्याधान उरसिमनसी ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनत्याधाने, उरसिमनसी, (विभाषा कृञि गतिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनत्याधानं सुपरस्तेष्वं तदभावेऽनत्याधाने उरसिमनसी शब्दौ विभाषा कृञि-गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

75. The word *urasi*, 'in the breast,' and *manasi* 'in the mind' are optionally *gati* when the verb *kri* follows, provided that they are not used in the sense of 'placing.'

As *उरसिकृत्य* or *उरसिकृत्वा*; *मनसिकृत्य* or *मनसिकृत्वा*. When it has the sense of placing we have *उरसिकृत्वा पाणिं शेते* he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast, *मनसिकृत्वा दचनं ध्यायति* he ponders 'having placed the word in his mind.

मध्ये पदे निवचने च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्ये पदे, निवचने, च, (विभाषा कृञि गतिः अनत्याधाने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्ये पदे निवचने इत्येते शब्दा, अनत्याधाने विभाषा कृञि गतिसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

76. And the words *madhye* 'in the middle,' *pade* 'in the foot' and *nivachane* 'speechless' are optionally *gati*, when *kri* follows, the sense not being of 'placing.'

As *मध्ये कृत्य* or *कृत्वा*. *पदे कृत्य* or *कृत्वा*; *निवचने कृत्य* or *कृत्वा*.

But when it has the meaning of placing we have *इस्तिनः पदे कृत्वा शिरः शेते* he lies down having put his head under the foot of the elephant.

नित्यं हस्ते पाणावुपयमने ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, हस्ते-पाणौ उपयमने (गतिः कृञि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्ते पाणौ इत्येते शब्दौ कृञि नित्यं गतिसंज्ञौ भवत उपयमने ॥

77. The word *haste* 'in the hand,' *pāṇau* 'in the hand' are always and necessarily called *gati* when used with the verb *kri* in the sense of 'marriage.'

As *पाणौ कृत्य* or *हस्ते कृत्य* having married. But *इस्ते कृत्वा कार्षापणं गतः* he went out having taken in his hand a *kārshāpana* (a coin).

प्राध्वं बन्धने ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राध्वम्, बन्धने, (गतिः कृजि नित्यम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राध्वमिति भकारान्तमव्ययेमाशुकूल्ये वर्त्तते, तदाशुकूल्यं बन्धनहेतुकं यदा भवति तदाप्राध्वंशब्दः कृजि नित्यं गतिसंज्ञी भवति ॥

78. The indeclinable word *prādhvam* followed by the verb *kri*, is always called *gati* when used in the sense of 'binding.'

The word *प्राध्वम्* ends in *प्* and means 'favourably suitably.' When however it means 'bound' it is a *gati*: as, *प्राध्वंकृत्य* having bound. But when not meaning to bind, we have:—*प्राध्वं कृत्वा शकटं गतः* having made|the carriage agreeable, he is gone.

जीविकोपनिषद्वाच्यौपम्ये ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीविका-उपनिषदौ, औपम्ये, (गतिः कृजि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीविका उपनिषदित्येते शब्दौ औपम्ये विषये कृजि गतिसंज्ञौ भवतः ॥

79. 'The words *Jivikā* and *upanishad* followed by the verb *kri* are called *gati* when used in the sense 'of likeness or resemblance.'

As *जीविकाकृत्य* having made it as if it was a means of living; *उपनिषत्-कृत्य*—having made it like an *upanishad*. But *जीविका कृत्वा गतः* having made his livelihood he is gone.

ते प्राग्धातोः ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ ते, प्राग्, धातोः, (गतिः उपसर्गः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ते गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञकाः धातोः प्राक् प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

80. The particles called *gati* and *upasarga* are to be employed before the verbal root: (that is to say, they are pre-fixes).

The word *ते* has been employed to include the term *उपसर्ग* also. The preceding examples all illustrate the application of this rule.

छन्दसि परेऽपि ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, परे, अपि, (गतिः उपसर्ग प्रा०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये गत्युपसर्ग संज्ञकाः परेऽपि पूर्वेषु प्रयोक्तव्याः ॥

81. In the *chhandas* (veda) these *gati* and *upasarga* are employed indifferently after the verbal root as well as before it.

As.—*वायविष्मद्भ सुन्वत आयातमुपनिष्कृतम्* ॥ सवित्र्या विद्या नरा (Rig. I. 2. 6).

In this we have आवातनुप instead of उवायतन् 'vayu and thou Indra, ye heroes, come ye both quickly to the soma of the worshipper by this sincere prayer.'

व्यवहिताश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यवहिताः, च, (ग० उ० छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यवहिताश्च गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञकाः छन्दसि दृश्यन्ते ॥

82. In the chhandas (veda) these gati and upasarga are also seen separated from the verb by intervening words.

As:— इन्द्र वायु इमे सुता उप प्रयोभिरागतम् ॥ इन्द्रो वा सुयन्तिहि (Rig. I. 2. 4). "Indra and vāyu, here are soma—libations for you. Approach, ye with pleasures for us. For the libations are desiring you." Here उप is separated from the word आगत by the intervening word प्रयोभिः.

KARMA PRAVACHANIYA.

कर्मप्रवचनीयाः ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मप्रवचनीयाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यानि ऊर्द्धसमुदाभिप्रायः कर्मप्रवचनीय संज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

83. From this point as far as aphorism I. 4. 97 the particles treated of, are to be understood as having the name of karma-pravachaniya.

These particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed upasarga and gati. As सुस्तुतं भवता well praised by you. सु विलं चयता you have sprinkled. Here सु is a karma pravachaniya and qualifies the sense of the verb, i. e. it is an adverb. It is not an upasarga, for had it been so, it would have changed the च into च (VIII. 3. 65). The term karma pravachaniya is a big term compared with other technical terms such as, रि, चि, यु &c., which generally do not exceed more than two syllables. The word karmapravachaniya is not however merely a technical term; it contains within itself a definition of itself. It means that which qualifies or speaks about (प्रोक्तवन्त) an action (कर्म) is so called.

अनुलक्षणे ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुः लक्षणे, (कर्मप्रवचनीयाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशब्दो लक्षणे दोषये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

84. The word अनु when it denotes a sign, is called karma-pravachaniya.

The word lakshana means a sign; an attendant circumstance an invariable concomitant or accident in its logical sense and not merely an occasional concurrence. The force of अनु in this case is that of 'after,' 'in consequence of,' 'because of, or being indicated by.' As जपमदु प्रावर्षद् it rained

after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers. To put it in other words, *anu* is a *karmapravachanīya* when it governs the word which indicates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action.

So also *याकलस्य संक्षितामनु प्रावर्षत्* = *याकल्येन युक्ततां संक्षितामनुनिश्रय्य देवः प्रावर्षत्*. The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by Śākalya. The force of a *karmapravachanīya*, therefore, when fully analysed will be found to be that of an *upasarga* whose verb is not expressed in the sentence but is understood; and because of its being so understood, the particle itself seems to govern the noun which in fact was governed by the unexpressed verb. Thus in the above example *संक्षितां* is in the accusative case, apparently governed by the preposition *अनु*, but really governed by the verb *अनुनिश्रय्य* understood.

So also *अननुद् यक्षमन्यसिंचत्*. The Taurus sprinkled water after the sacrifice, *अननुद्वयमन्यसिंचत्* *प्रजाः* the people began sprinkling water after the rising of the canopus.

Why make unnecessarily this sūtra, when *अनु* would have been called *karma pravachanīya* even by force of sūtra 90 following, where also the word *lakṣhaṇa* occurs? This is for the sake of indicating that the *karmapravachanīyas* should always govern the accusative case (II. 3. 8) even in expressing *हेतु* (II. 3. 23). Otherwise Rule 23rd of the third chapter of Book II would have set aside Rule 8 of the same by the maxim of *परत्वे* I. 3. 2; and would have caused a *karma pravachanīya* to govern an Instrumental case where the sense was that of *hetu*.

तृतीयार्थे ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृतीया-अर्थे, (अनुः कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुशब्दस्तृतीयार्थे दोह्ये कर्मवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

85. The word *anu* is *karma-pravachanīya* when it has the force of the third case.

The meaning of *अनु* in this case will be that of 'with' or along with. As *नदीननु अवसिता सेना* the army lying along side the river. *पर्वतननु अवसिता सेना* lying along the slopes of the mountain.

हीने ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हीने, (अनुः कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हीने दोह्येऽनुशब्दः कर्म प्रवचनीय संज्ञो भवति ॥

86. The word *anu* is *karma-pravachanīya* when it is used in the sense of inferior or subordinate to.

The word *हीन* means 'inferior,' and being a comparative term requires the other term with which comparison is made and which is superior; to complete the sense. In other words *अनु* governs the person to which others are inferior, in the accusative case. As *अनुयाकटावनवेवाकरवाः* 'all grammarians are inferior to Śākatāyana.'

उपोधिके च ॥ ८७ ॥ उप, अधिके, च, (हीने कर्म प्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपशब्दः अधिके हीने च दोत्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

87. The word upa when it means 'superior' or 'inferior to' is karma-pravachaniya.

That is when the sense is that of 'over, above,' or 'inferior' as उप सर्वां द्रोणः a Drona is above a khâri. उप निष्के कार्षापणः a karshapana is more than a Nishka. In this sense उप governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior (II. 3. 9). So also उप शाकटायनं वैयाकरणाः 'all grammarians are inferior to Śākatāyana.' In this sense उप governs the accusative case.

अप परी वर्जने ॥ ८८ ॥ अप-परी, वर्जने, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अप परी शब्दो वर्जनेदोत्ये कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवतः ॥

88. The words apa and pari are karma-pravachaniya when meaning 'exclusion.'

The force of अप and परि is in this case that of 'with the exception of.' As अपत्रिगर्जभ्यो वृष्टो देवः it rained outside of or with the exception of Trigarta. So also परि त्रिगर्जभ्यो वृष्टो देवः. In this sense they govern the noun excluded in the ablative case (II. 3. 10). When not having these senses, they are not karma-pravachaniya. As ओदनं परिषिञ्चति. He waters the rice. Here it is an upasarga, and hence changes the च into ष.

आङ् मर्यादा वचने ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङ्, मर्यादा-वचः, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् इत्येवमशब्दः मर्यादावचने कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

89. The word âṅ as far as, is karma-pravachaniya when it expresses limit (e. g. when it means 'as far as inclusive of' or, 'as far as exclusive of.')

The word वचन in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here meant. As आपाटलिपुत्राद् वृष्टो देवः it rained as far as (but excluding) Pāṭaliputra आपाटलिपुत्रं वृष्टो देवः it rained as far as (including) Pāṭaliputra आकुमारं वचः पाणिनेः आसंकाश्यात्, अनञ्जनायाः when it means 'little' or is a verbal prefix it does not get this name.

लक्षणैतथम्भूताख्यानभागवीप्सासुप्रति पर्यन्तवः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥
लक्षण-इत्यथम्भूताख्यान-भाग-वीप्सासु, प्रति-परि-अन्तवः, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणे इत्यथम्भूताख्याने भागे वीप्सायां च विषयभूतायां प्रति परि अन्त इत्येते कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

90. The words prati, pari and anu are karma pravachaniya when used in the sense of 'sign' (in the direction of) 'mere statement of circumstance' ('as regards') 'division' 'share of' and 'pervasion' severally.

As (1) वृषं प्रति-परि or अनु विद्योतते विद्युत् 'the lightening is flashing in the direction of the tree.' (2) साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति—परि=अनु 'Devadatta is a good man as regards his mother.' (3) हरं प्रति हलाहलं 'the poison fell to the share of Hara.' यदग्रमां प्रति स्यात् that it may fall to my share. So with परि and अनु. (4) वृषं वृषं प्रति सिद्धति he sprinkles one tree after another. So with परि and अनु.

अभिरभागे ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिः, अभागे (लक्षण इत्थं-भूताख्या० कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लवणादिव्येव भागवर्जितेऽवभिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

91. The word abhi is karma-pravachaniya, in the above senses of 'in the direction of,' 'as regards,' and 'each severally' but not when it means division, 'share of.'

The illustrations given under the last sūtra mutus mutandi apply here also, with the exception of those given under head (4). As वृषमभि विद्योतते; मातरमभि &c. But it is not karma-pravachaniya when भाग is meant, भाग means the share which is allotted to one as his own. As यदग्रममभि स्यात् तद् दीयताम् give that which falls here to my share. Here abhi is an upasarga, and therefore च of स्य is changed into य.

प्रतिः प्रतिनिधि प्रतिदानयोः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिः, प्रतिः निधि-प्रतिदानयोः, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिनिधिविषये प्रतिदाने विषये च प्रतिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

92. The word prati is karma-pravachaniya when used in the sense of representative ('representative of') or exchange ('in exchange for.')

That which is like to the principal is called प्रतिनिधि. Giving in return for what is obtained, is प्रतिदान. As अभिमन्युर्जुनतः प्रति Abhi-manyu is the representative of Arjuna. माषानसै तिलेभ्यः प्रतिपृच्छति he exchanges Māshās for these sesamum. In these senses prati governs the Ablative (II. 3. 11.)

अधिपरी अनर्थकौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधि-परी, अनर्थकौ, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधि परी शब्दो अनर्थकौ अनर्थान्तराधिकारो कर्मप्रवचनीय संज्ञो भवतः ॥

93. The words *adhi* and *pari* are *karma-pravachaniya* when used as mere expletives.

As कुतोऽभ्यागच्छति whence has he come? or कुतः पर्या गच्छति. These words though mere surplusages, have been called *karmappravachaniya* so that they may not get the designation of *upasarga* or *gati* and thus produce results peculiar to those words.

सुः पूजायाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुः, पूजायाम्, (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु शब्दः पूजायामर्थे कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

94. The word *su* is *karma-pravachaniya* in the sense of respect, (when it means 'excellently').

As सुविक्रं भवता, सुस्तुतं भवता excellently sprinkled by your honor. Well praised by your honor. By not being an *upasarga*, it does not change the च into च (VIII. 3. 65).

Why do we say 'when respect is meant'? Observe सुविक्रं किं तवाग्र has this your place been well sprinkled to-day.

अतिरतिक्रमणश्च ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतिः, अति क्रमणे, च, (कर्मप्र० पूजायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अति शब्दः अतिक्रमणे चकारात् पूजायां च कर्म प्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

95. The word *ati* in the sense of super-abundance ('excessively') and 'excellently' is *karma-pravachaniya*.

The word अतिक्रमण means to do more than what is necessary for the accomplishment of an object. The force of च in the aphorism is to draw in the word पूजायात् from the last. As अतिविक्रमेवा भवता. It has abundantly been sprinkled by your honor, अतिस्तुतमिव भवता so also अतिस्तुतं भवता excellently praised by your honor. अति विक्रं भवता.

अपिः पदार्थ संभावनाऽन्वयसर्गगर्हासमुच्चयेषु ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपिः, पदार्थ-संभावन-अन्वयसर्ग-गर्हा-समुच्चयेषु (कर्म) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदार्थ संभावने ऽन्वयसर्गे गर्हायां समुच्चये च वर्तमानः अपिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

96. The word *-api* is *karma-pravachaniya*, when it implies, the sense of word understood ('somewhat') or possibility (e. g., 'even' in the sense of such a great person), or permission to do as one likes, ('if you like'), or censure ('even' in the sense of what is disgraceful); or collection ('and').

The word पदार्थ means the sense of another word which is not expressed but has to be supplied. As सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् there may be perhaps a drop of ghee मधुनोऽपि स्यात्. Here some word like vindu 'a drop,' stoka 'a little' mâtâra 'a measure &c., has to be understood. The word संभावन means possibility, a supposition. As, अपि सिंचेत् मूलकचइत्वं हयैनेकेन possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment; अपि स्तुयाद् राजानं he may praise possibly, a king. In the above cases it is used with the potential mood. अन्वयसर्ग means indifference on the part of the speaker where he permits another to do as he likes. It is used with the Imperative mood. As अपि सिंच you may sprinkle if you like. अपि स्तुहि you may praise if you like. The word गर्ह means censure, contempt or reproof. As विग्नार्हं देवदत्तमपि सिंचेत् पलायणम्. The word समुच्चय means cumulative. As अपि स्तुहि—अपि सिंच praise as well as sprinkle.

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the च into य.

अचिरीश्वरे ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिः, ईश्वरे । (कर्मप्र०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश्वरः स्वामी सच स्वमपेक्षत । तदयं स्वस्थानि संवन्धः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

97. The word adhi is karmapravachaniya when used in the sense of "lord" ("being as a lord" or "having as a lord").

The word ईश्वर means 'master,' and it therefore requires another correlative word denoting 'property' of which one is master. The word adhi governs a Locative case. Sometimes locative of the person possessing, sometime locative of the property possessed: as अपि ब्रह्म दत्ते पंचालाः or अपि पंचालेषु ब्रह्म दत्तः. Brahmadatta rules over Panchâlas.

विभाषा कृजि ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृजि कर्मप्र० अधिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिः करोती विभाषा कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञो भवति ॥

98. The word adhi is optionally karma pravachaniya when the verb kri follows.

* As यदत्र मानधि करिष्यति. Here the word अधि may be treated either as a गति or a कर्मप्रवचनीय. When it is a गति the accent will be regulated by S. VIII. 1. 71; otherwise not.

लः परस्मैपदम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लः, परस्मैपदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लादेशाः परस्मैपदसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

99. The substitutes of ल are called parasmaipada.

The word लः is in the genitive case, and means 'of ल.' The word लादेश 'substitutes' must be supplied to complete the sense. The term ल is a generic word for verb in general, viz., लट्, लिट्, लुट्, लृट्, लेट्, लोट्, लङ्, लिङ्, लुङ्, लृङ्. The substitutes of ल are the well known personal terminations by which the verbs are conjugated in those tenses. Namely the following.

PARASMAIPADA.

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st Pers.	मिप्	यस्	मसू
2nd Pers.	सिप्	यस्	य
3rd Pers.	तिप्	तस्	क्षि

And the affixes षट् and क्तु (III. 2. 107, and 124, and III. 4. 78).

तङानावात्मनेपदम् ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ तङ्-आनौ आत्मनेपदम्,
(लः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वेषु परस्मै पदसंज्ञायां प्राप्तायां तङानयोरात्मनेपदसंज्ञा विधीयते ॥

100. The nine affixes comprised under the Pratyâhâra tan and the two ending in ân (Sânach and Kânach), which are substitutes of ल are called Atmanepada.

The following are the Atmanepada affixes:—

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st	इट्	वहि	महिङ्
2nd	यास्	आयास्	ध्वस्
3rd	त	आतास्	क्त

And the affixes यानच् and कानच् (III. 2. 106).

तिङ्स्त्रीणि त्रीणि प्रथम मध्यमोत्तमाः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥

तिङः, त्रीणि, त्रीणि, प्रथम, मध्यम, उत्तमाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङोऽष्टादश प्रत्ययाः नव परस्मैपद संज्ञकाः नवात्मनेपदसंज्ञकाः तत्रपरस्मैपदेषु त्रयस्त्रिकाः यथाक्रमम् प्रथममध्यमोत्तमसंज्ञा भवन्ति । आत्मनेपदेष्वपि त्रयस्त्रिकाः प्रथममध्यमोत्तमसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

101. The three triads in both the sets *Parasmaipada* and *Atmanepada*, of conjugational affixes (comprised under the general name *tiñ*, a *pratyāhāra* formed of the first and last of them, *viz.*, *tip* and *mahiñ*) are called, in order, Lowest (3rd person of European Grammar,) the middle (2nd person), and the highest (1st person).

Of the 19 conjugational affixes, above given ; 9 are *Parasmaipadi* and 9 are *Atmanepadi*. Each of these two classes is subdivided into three classes, according to person, as shown in the above list.

तान्येकवचन द्विवचन बहुवचनान्येकशः ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तानि ,
एकवचन-द्विवचन-बहुवचनानि एकशः , (त्रीणि २) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तान्येकवचन द्विवचन बहुवचन संज्ञानि भवन्ति एकशः इति पदम् ॥

102. These three triads of conjugational affixes, which have received the names of Lowest &c, are called (as regard the three expressions in each triad) severally "the expression for one" (singular) "the expression for two" (dual), and "the expression for many" (plural).

Of the six triads thus formed, each is divided according to number into three classes, *viz.*, singular, dual, and plural.

सुपः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपः, (त्रीणि २ एकवचन द्विवचन बहु-
वचनानि एकशः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपञ्च त्रीणि त्रीणि पदानि एकश एकवचन द्विवचन बहुवचन संज्ञानि भवन्ति ॥

103. Of *sup* (which is a *Pratyāhāra* formed of *su* the first of the case affixes and the final *p* of the last of them) the three expressions in each successive set of the three, are also severally called singular, dual and plural.

The sup or the case-affixes by which nouns are declined are 21 in number corresponding to the seven cases, see sūtra IV. 1. 2. They also have three numbers singular, dual and plural.

विभक्तिश्च ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभक्तिः, च, (त्रीणि २ सुपः तिङ्;) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रीणि त्रीणि विभक्ति संज्ञास्तु भवन्ति सुपश्चिङ् ॥

104. The traids of conjugational affixes and case affixes are also called vibhakti or Inflective affixes.

The word विभक्ति means a complete triad. Thus सप्तमी विभक्ति means the three affixes of the seventh case, i.e., the locative singular, dual, and plural. So प्रथमा विभक्ति means the third person, singular, dual, and plural.

युष्मद्युपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्यानिन्यपि मध्यमः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मदि, उपपदे, समान-अधिकरणे, स्यानिनि, अपि, मध्यमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मद्युपपदे सति व्यवहिते चाव्यवहिते सति समानाधिकरणे समानाभिधेये तुल्य-कारके स्यानिनि प्रयुज्यमानेऽप्यप्रयुज्यमानेऽपि मध्यम पुरुषो भवति ॥

105. When the pronoun yushmad, "thou" understood, and also when the same expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the middle (2nd person).

This defines the 2nd person of conjugational affixes. As त्वं पचसि thou cookest or पचसि; यूयं पचथः or पचथः you two are cooking; यूयं पचथ or पचथ you cook.

प्रहासे च मन्योपपदे मन्यतेरुत्तम एकवच्च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रहासे, च, मन्य-उपपदे, मन्यतेः, उत्तमः, एकवत्, च, (मध्यमः) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रहासे मन्यमाने मन्यो(पपदे धातो मध्यमपुरुषो भवति, मन्यतेरुत्तमः स पैक वक्ष्यति ॥

106. When joke is implied with reference to an action, the verb denoting it is used in the 2nd person; provided that the word manya 'to think' is the attendant word (upapada) of such verb, and of the verb manya itself, the affix must be of the 1st person and singular number.

The word प्रहास means joke, sport. As एवं मन्ये खोदनं भोक्ष्यसे इति; नहि भोक्ष्यसे, युक्तः सोऽतिविनिः. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice,' thou shalt not eat, that has been eaten by a guest. एहि मन्ये रथेन यास्यसि नहि यास्यसि, यातस्तेन ते पिता. I think thou wilt go by the chariot, no, thou wilt not, thy father has gone before thee on it. When joke is not intended, the proper persons should be used: as, एहि मन्यसे खोदनं भोक्ष्ये. Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice.'

अस्मद्युत्तमः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्मदि, उत्तमः, (उपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मद्युत्तमः उपपदे समानाधिकरणे प्रयुज्यमाने अस्मदि उत्तमपुरुषो भवति ॥

107. When the pronoun *asmad* "I," understood and also when expressed, is the attendant word in agreement with the verb, then there is the verbal termination called the Highest or the 1st person.

This is clear. As अहं पचामि I cook, or merely पचामि-आवां पचावः or merely पचावः.

शेषे प्रथमः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे प्रथमः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वत्तः युष्मदस्मदी समानाधिकरणे उपपदेन स्तः तत्रशेषे प्रथमपुरुषो भवति ॥

108. In the other cases, namely where, "thou" or "I" are not the attendant words in agreement with the verb, there is the verbal termination called the Lowest (or 3rd person).

As पचति he cooks, पचतः they two cook. पचन्ति they cook.

परः संनिकर्षः संहिता, ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परः संनिकर्षः, संहिता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परो यः संनिकर्षो वर्णानां सङ्गमात्राकालव्यवधानं स संहितासंज्ञो भवति ॥

109. The closest proximity of letters, there being the intervention of half a *mātrā* or prosodial length between them, is called contact or *sanhitā*.

When words are in *sanhitā*, they are glued together by the rules of *sandhi*. As ददुषत्र = दधि + अत्र.

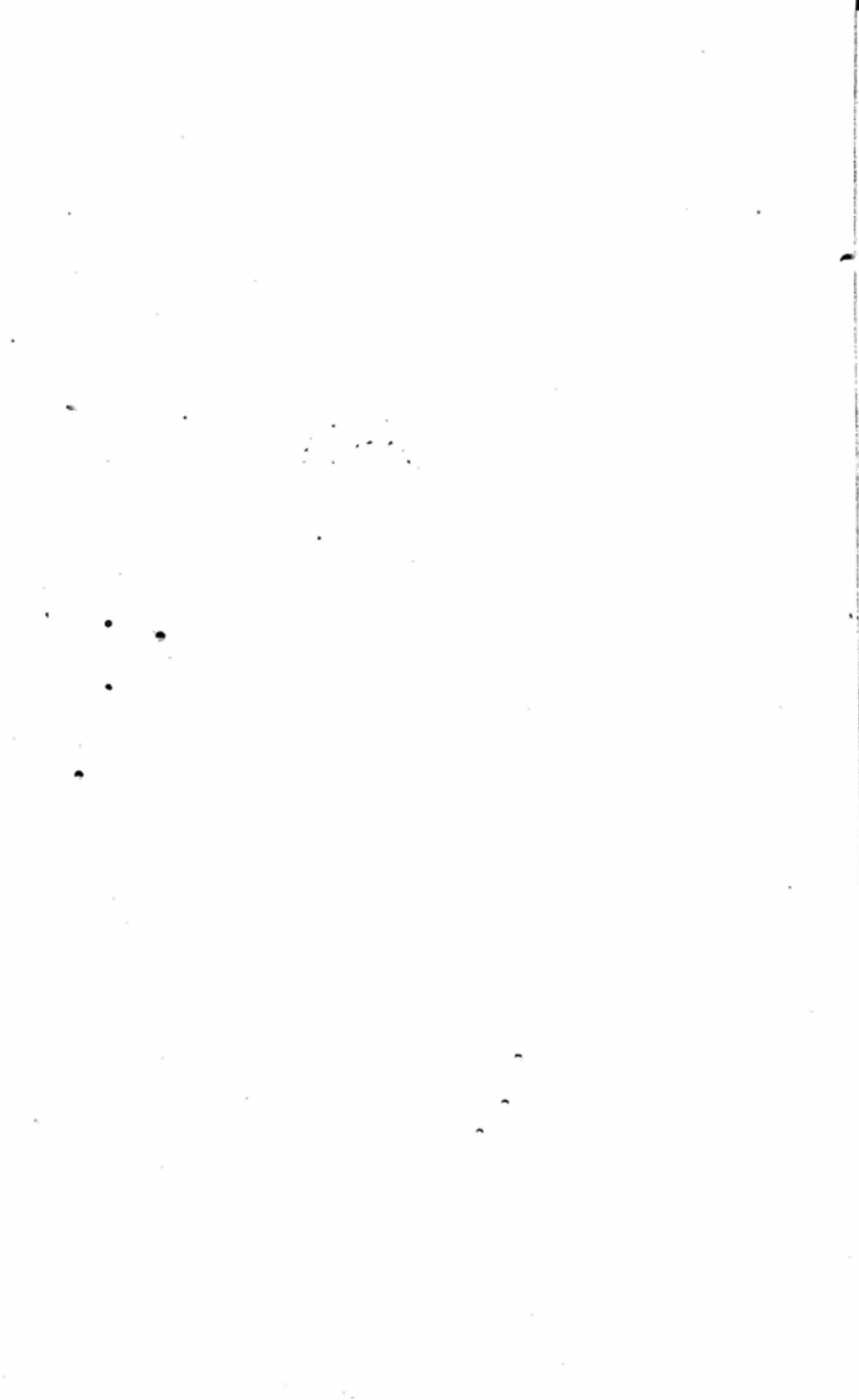
विरामो ऽवसानम् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ विरामः अवसानम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विरति र्धिरामः । विरम्यते ऽनेनेति वा विरामः । सोऽवसानसंज्ञो भवति ॥

110. The cessation or the absence of succeeding letters is called pause or avasāna.

The word avasāna occurs in sūtra VIII, 3. 15 &c.





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